

THE SIKH EMPIRE

and

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh

by

Sohan Singh Seetal



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by

Sohan Singh Seetal

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PREFACE

There are men who change with the changing times, but there are those, too, who live to change the time in which they live.

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, was a man of the latter type, who had reversed the course of the Indian history of the times before him. The hordes of the foreign raiders had marched into India from across the river Indus, who had been devastating this country for centuries. Not only did the Lion of the Panjab check their raids, he had crossed all the hurdles of the Indus, and had planted his flags of victory at Jamrud. The Pathaans who used to raid India and carried loads of booty and numerous Indians as slaves back home, saw their progeny being compelled to pay tributes to this Maharaja of the Panjab. This turn-about had been effected by the mighty king, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh.

The Lion of the Panjab commands an eminent position in the history of the Sikhs. The Misals had taken possession of the Panjab and made Sardars of the Sikhs. The flags of the feudal Sikh leaders were planted high in the villages. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, however, raised the Sikh community to the royalty of the Kingship and improved the image of its status in the eyes of the whole world. There is no doubt that the Sikh rule was no more than a wonder of nine days; yet, its existance had turned the Sikh entity notable and well-known in the comity of the nations of the world, which was an achievement of his own labours and service rendered to the Panjab.

I have merely paid my homage to his valorous and eminent personality in writing this account of his life. And in this account do I offer to him what he richly deserves. I well

hope that the nation of which he was the architect, will appreciate it.

I am sincerely grateful to the writers of the books on this subject, that I have helpfully used in composing this book. I am also grateful to Prof. Hardyal Singh and Prof. M.C. Sharma also, who have helped me translating my original Panjabi book.

Seetal Bhawan,

Model Gram,

Ludhiana-India

1-1-71

Sohan Singh Seetal

THE SIKH EMPIRE
and
MAHARAJA RANJEET SINGH

CHAPTER-1 ANCESTORS

The old Sikhs had believed that Guru Gobind Singh had organised the confederation of the Sikhs, known as the Sikh Panth, with which he wanted his Sikh devotees to establish the holy rule of justice in the world. It was this aim alone that had prompted the disciples of this apostle to start working his mission from Kesgarh, on the day of Baisakhi (1699 A.D) and go through untold hardships and privations till they had achieved their goal. The battle of Chamkaur or those of the two Marathons, one staged by Abdali, could not deflect them from their set course. They fell only to rise again and again and advance to victory and the summit of glory. They had to encounter many hurdles at every step, indeed; yet, they advanced, clearing every one of them, till they had, through their struggle, achieved victory. Rather than sleep eternally on the sharp points of arrows, they preferred to receive them into their breasts, and instead of being buried under the snows of the Himalayas, they preferred to rot in the prisons of the foes. As they received blows from the enemy and bled, the foreheads of the men of this community shone with the red blood of bravery in their veins, and as the blows fell fast on them, so did the Panth gain in strength.

The Sikhs had kept quiet for some years after the martyrdom of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. Nobody could imagine that the Sikh nation would ever be resurrected. But its builder had injected into its arteries the blood of his own martyred sons that was eternally warm. Thus, as soon as an opportune moment arrived, these living martyrs failed not to rise to be active again.

"True is the Holy, Immortal God" and "The Khalsa Shall Reign"* were the slogans that they shouted and that inspired them forcefully in their fresh efforts for freedom. The rulers

* **Sat Sri Akaal, and Raj Karega Khalsa.**

of the day tried to repress these warriors with tyranny and brute force, as the latter raised their heads again. But, as the governments tried their best to crush them, so did the latter bounce in strength and valour. As the government continued to present them the gibbet, the death wheel, the piercing points of the arrows, the blades of the swords and similar other lethal agents of death as gifts, to these resolute and determined warriors of freedom, so did they accept these challenges of the enemy without fear or hesitation.

The government put prices on their heads. But that only trained them to wear on their heads the crowns of freedom and dominance. These persistent patriots, at length, succeeded in winning the protracted battles and wars. These scions of the lovers of freedom who had been martyred by being held on the burning iron sheets, now occupied the thrones of royalties in their motherland. Those people who had been compelled to sacrifice their skulls, had been adorned by fates with the royal crowns now. Those who had their limbs hacked joint by joint, were now destined to wear on their arms the Kohinoor diamond, the top prize of the world; the one time rebels were now the royal rulers. The culmination of a century of struggle was the Lion of the Punjab, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, who holds an honoured place among the great rulers of the world history.

As the Sikhs had become the rulers of the land of the Panjab after a struggle of one hundred years, so had the personality of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh taken a period of five generations to mature. Buddha Singh was the first eminent Sardar who was baptised to Sikhism. Going still further back, this dynasty had come of Raja Salwan or Salbahin, of the Bhatti Rajput tribe*. As the members of this tribe lost their royalty, they started tilling land for their living and were considered a part of the Panjab **Jatts**†.

A **Jatt** of this family, named Kaaloo, lived in the village of Pindi Bhattian, in 1470. He was at logger heads with his

* Gyani Gyan Singh : **Panth Parkash**, 6th edition, page 1020.

† Most of the sub-castes of the **Jatts** arose from the Rajput dynasties.

neighboring families and shifted to village Saihansran Amritsar District. He got a son here, named Jaadomaan. He, next, migrated, along with his wife and child, to village Sandh, four miles from Wazirabad. Kaaloo died in 1488, after which Jaadomaan joined some bands of robbers who raided peaceful families. He was killed in an encounter in 1515. His son, Ghalib, also called Mannoo, followed his father in freebooting, and died at Sandh, in 1549.

Ghalib had a son, named Kidoh, who left village Sandh and settled in Kiali, but remained unhappy here. He moved to village Sukar Chak, two miles to the south of Gujjaranwala, in 1555. He purchased some agricultural land there and settled there permanently.

When the community established the Misal system, it was after the name of this village that his Misal was called Sukarchakian.

Kidoh died in 1578. He left two sons behind him, Raj Dev* and Premoo. Raj Dev did not take to brigandage. He added shop-keeping to his farming work. He was, in term of the time, a literate person. He breathed his last in 1620. He had three sons : Teloo, Takhat Mal and Nilloo. Teloo and Nilloo died in childhood. Takhat Mal had a prosperous career. He added the profession of money lending to his shop-keeping and farming. He died in 1653. He had two sons : Balloo and Bara.† Balloo was killed during a raid at the age of eighteen years. Bara loved to read the holy scripture and was a devoted Sikh and a saintly person. He propagated the message of his religion in his area. People called him Bhai Bara.♦ He owned half the land of Village Sukar Chak. He died in 1679. His only son, called Buddha, **was nine years old at the time. Bhai Bara had been a pious Sikh and a preacher of his creed. He, consequently, advised his son, too, to be an earnest Sikh.††

* Smyth writes Rajaada as his name, in the edition of 1847, on page 3. Latif calls him Raj Dev, page 336.

† Latif, page 336, Smyth page 3.

♦ **Raj Khalsa**, Urdu, page 48. The author of it names him as Bhai Bhag Mall.

**Latif, pages, 336-37. Smyth pages 1-5.

††Latif, page 337.

Buddha grew up to be a very courageous warrior. He took to raiding various places and was soon chosen the leader of his band. When the Tenth Guru of the Sikhs initiated his ceremony of Sikh baptism, on March the 30th, 1699, the devotees of Sikhism all over the countryside came to receive initiation and became Singhs. Bhai Buddha, thus, became Buddha Singh.* He took a brave part in the battles of Guru Gobind Singh and Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. He had, on his person, thirty scars of sword wounds and nine scars of bullet holes. His mare, named Desi, well matched her master in speed and stamina. The agile rider had crossed the Rivers Ravi, Chinab and Jehlam fifty times on this horse-back. He left this world in 1718, at the age of 48 years.† His widow stabbed herself to death with a lancet in grief for the departed husband. The bodies of both of them were consigned together to the flames of a pyre.♦

Buddha Singh had two sons : Naudh Singh and Chanda Singh. Naudh Singh was the ancestor of the Lion of the Panjab and Chanda Singh that of the Sandhanwalias. Naudh Singh was married to the daughter of Sardar Gulab Singh of Majeetha, in 1720.** The two brothers, Gulab Singh and Amar Singh, were notorious robbers and Sardars of Majeetha. Naudh Singh was the Chaudhuri of Sukar Chak. And this new relationship further added to their positions of strength.

The invasion of Nadir Shah had given a good fillup to the growth of the Sikh power. Naudh Singh, like any other Sikh Sardar, had built up this power through his exploits as a robber. He joined the group of Nawab Kapoor Singh later. Both of them plundered the camp of Abdali in a joint attack, during the first invasion of India by that of foreigner. This daring action raised Naudh Singh to the status of one of the notable Sikh leaders.

* Latif, page, 337; **Raj Khalsa**, page 48; Sohan Lal, page, 2.

Panth Parkash, page. 1020; Smyth, page. 5.

† Griffin, Page. 11.

♦ Smyth, page. 5; Latiff, page. 337.

**Smyth, page. 6; Latif page. 338.

When the system of the Sikh misals was established in 1748, he organised his own party and called it the Sukarchkian misal. His next step was to occupy several villages around Gujranwala, with the help of his brother, Chanda Singh.* He died in a battle with the Pathans, near Majeetha, in 1752†. He had four sons : Charhat Singh, Dall Singh, Chet Singh and Maghi Singh. The eldest of them, Charhat Singh, was born in 1721.♦ He succeeded his father as the leader of his misal.

Charhat Singh selected Rajasahnsi as his temporary capital, in place of Sukar Chak. He was married to the daughter of Sardar Amir Singh of Gujranwala in 1756. It was for this reason that he left Rajasahnsi and moved to Gujranwala and settled there. This afforded both these families a chance to cooperate building their power further in the territory of Gujranwala.

Sardar Charhat Singh took part, as the head of his band of fighters, in every one of the campaigns of the Panth. They had raided a part of Lahore, in 1754. Sardar Charhat Singh was there as a partner of Sardar Jassa Singh. Sardar Charhat Singh again, defeated the famous Durrani General, Noor-ud-Deen in 1761**.

He built a strong fort at Gujranwala. Ubed Khan, the Governor of Lahore, had attacked this fort, suffered defeat and returned home. In 1762, the year of the Greater Marathon, Charhat Singh had shown great daring during the battles against the Durrani and had saved the lives of the Sikh women and children at an extreme risk to his own life. These acts of heroism won for him a well deserved fame with the Panth. Even now he is known as as compeer of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahloowalia and Nawab Kapoor Singh.

The Panth had reorganised, in 1763, its fighting forces into two larger units known as Budha Dall and the Tarna Dall. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahloowalia captained the Budha Dall and Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi led the Tarna Dall. Sardar

* Narang, 2nd edition, page. 290.

† Smyth, page: 6; Latif, page. 338.

♦ Latif, page. 338; Smyth, page. 6. The other three were born in 1724, 1727, and 1732. Smyth, page. 6.

**Refer to Part II of this History.

Charhat Singh had joined the Tarna Dall. At the time when Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi had resolved to attack Qasoor, it was Sardar Charhat Singh who was the first leader to offer to join the exploit from Amritsar. Charhat Singh had received a substantial amount of booty at Qassor, in 1763, which he wisely used to increase his fighting strength. His bands of fighters held the foremost positions during the attacks on Maler Kotla, Kheri, Morinda and Sirhind.

The Sikh leaders had divided the entire province of Sirhind among themselves after the death of Governor Zain Khan. Only Sardar Charhat Singh had preferred to return to his home territory rather than occupy any palces in the Malwa. He had pursued and attacked the forces of Abdali to the River Jehlem, on the return journey of the latter in March 1764. Sarfraz Khan was the Commander of Rohtas at the time. Sardar Charhat Singh attacked Rohtas, threw him out of the fort and himself occupied it. He had taken Sar Buland Khan, the famous general of Abdali, a prisoner and then let him off. Charhat Singh, when in occupation of Rohtas, had occupied Dhanni, Pothohar, Chakwal, Jalalpur, Saeedpur, Pind Dadan Khan, Miani of the Salt Mines and other places and appointed Sardars Buddh Singh and Kaur Singh as the commanders of that territory. He had been in the fore of the fighting against Abdali during the latter's invasion and had defeated most of the renowned Afghan generals.

With the occupation of Lahore by Sardars Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Sobha Singh, in May 1765, the Sikhs sway extended all over the Panjab in the form of different principalites. Sardar Charhat Singh, too, had then occupied a large part of the territory between the Rivers Ravi and Chenab. He had occupied Wazirabad after a fight and handed it over to his brother-in-law, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Waraich. He next conquered a large part of Hafizabad, Shiekhupura and Naushehra districts and appointed Sardar Bhag Singh Virk as its commander. He took possession of the territories of Sialkot and Ram Nagar, too, and he, thus, came to possess a territory worth three lakhs of rupees in yearly revenue.*

* Kohli, page. 53; Latif, page. 340; Lady Login, page. 102.

CHAPTER-2

MAHAN SINGH : HIS FATHER

Raja Ranjeet Dev of Jammu had two sons: Brijraj Dev, the elder, and Dalel Singh, the younger one. The Raja desired his second son to succeed him. This led the elder son to rebel against his father. Both of them, the father and the son, separately invited the Sikh **Sardars** to their aid. **Sardar** Charhat Singh Sukarchakia and Sardars Jai Singh and Haqiqat Singh Kanhyas marched to Jammu to support the claim of Brijraj Dev and Sardars Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh Bhangis went there to help Ranjeet Dev. The fighting continued for several days. Sardar Charhat Singh was killed one day by his own gun, when its barrel burst and the bullet passed through his forehead.* This was in the year 1774.

The Bhangi Sardars were, thus, in a pre-eminent position then. Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya instigated a servant of Sardar Jhanda Singh Bhangi, to murder his own master, whom he treacherously killed with a gun shot. This tragedy undermined the power of the Bhangi Sardars who retreated from the field of action. The death of Charhat Singh had forced the Sukarchakias and the Kanhyas, too, to depart from Jammu. The body of Sardar Charhat Singh was consigned to the flames at Gujranwala and a mausoleum built there in his memory.

Sardar Charhat Singh had two sons, Mahan Singh and Suhej Singh and one daughter, Raaj Kaur. Mahan Singh was born in 1765 and was only nine years old when Charhat Singh died. He was formally accepted as the leader of the misal. His mother, Desan, was a lady with some courtage and understanding. She set out to manage the affairs of her misal with the help of Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya. The two maternal uncles of Mahan Singh, Gurbakhash Singh and Dall Singh, too, rendered great help to the family of their nephew, whose

* Cunningham, page. 114; Latif, page. 340; Griffin, page, 111; Lady Login, page. 102; Smyth, page. 9.

mother, Dessaan, married her daughter Raaj Kaur, to Sahib Singh, the son of Sardar Gujar Singh Bhangi, and, next, married her son, Mahaan Singh, to Raaj Kaur, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind, in 1774.* She, Thus, managed to enlist the support of the houses of the Bhangi misal and of the Phoolka ruler. She, then, had the fort of Gujranwala better fortified and improved. She died in 1778.†

As Mahaan Singh grew up and had the charge of the affairs of his misal securely in his hand, his first care was to own the fort of Rohtas. This fort had been built by Sher Shah Soori. It covered an area of three square miles and its outer wall was a dozen yards broad and ten yards high.♦ Sardar Charhat Singh had occupied this fort, in 1764, having wrested it from the control of Sar Faraz Khan. Noor-ud-Deen Baamizai had conquered it after the death of Sardar Charhat Singh. Sardar Mahaan Singh had attacked it, driven Noor-ud-Deen out of Rohtas and had himself occupied it. He had, then, taken possession of Kotli Loharan, near Sialkot, which was a place well known for gun making. The possession of these manufactories removed for Mahaan Singh the deficiency of firing weapons.

Peer Mohammad Khan Chattha, the ruler of Rasool Nagar, was a bitter enemy of the Sukarchakian Misal. He was preparing to defeat the latter; but Mahaan Singh forestalled this foe and fell upon Rasool Nagar at the head of an army, six thousand strong. The army of Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya, too, had backed him.** Peer Mohammad Khan offered a stiff resistance, but he lost the battle and submitted to his enemy. Peer Mohammad Khan left Rasool Nagar and shifted to Alipur. Mahaan Singh gave Rasool Nagar the name of Ram Nagar, as it is called even now, and appointed Sardar Dall Singh its commander.†† This happened in 1780. It was at this time that Mahaan Singh got a son, whom he named Ranjeet Singh, born to his wife, Raaj Kaur, who was nicknamed Mai Malwayan.

* Griffin, Page. 111.

† Latif, page. 345; Smyth, page. 10.

♦ Raj Khalsa, page. 50.

** Cunningham, page. 118.

†† Raj Khalsa, page. 51.

Sardar Mahaan Singh turned his forces westward the following year. He occupied Pindi Bhattian, Sahiwal, Isaa Khail, Moosa Khail, Jhang and some other territories and made several small rulers and landlords pay tribute to him. These places had belonged to the Bhangian Misal formerly. ♦ The Bhangis had lost them to Taimoor Shah during his second invasion of India, which had weakened the hold of the Bhangis on this part of the country. The result was that many of the local rulers who were the subjects of the Bhangis once, willingly submitted to the Sukarchakia rule.

Raja Ranjeet Dev of Jammu died in 1781. His son, Brijraaj Dev, succeeded him. He had his younger brother, Dalel Singh, and the latter's son, Bhagwant Singh, assassinated. A part of the territory of Jammu was possessed by the Bhangi Misal. Raja Brijraaj Dev had recovered it from the Bhangis with the help of Sardar Haqiqat Singh Kanhya. The Raja of Jammu owed allegiance to Sardar Haqiqat Singh and, also, paid him a yearly tribute of thirty thousand rupees from that day on.

Sardar Haqiqat Singh asked, the next year, for the tribute money to be paid to him, which the Raja refused to do. Sardar Haqiqat Singh asked Sardar Mahaan Singh to come to his aid, which the latter did, in 1782. The former advanced towards Jammu from the direction of Zafarwal and the latter from that of chapraal. As Brijraj Dev received the news of the invading Sikh forces, he slipped from Jammu to the mountains of Trikuta Devi.

Sardar Mahaan Singh reached Jammu before his partner. He plundered the town and left it with the booty he collected, before Sardar Haqiqat Singh arrived there. It was believed that Mahaan Singh had collected booty worth two crores of rupees from the plunder of Jammu. Sardar Haqiqat Singh asked his partner for his part of the booty being rendered to him. Sardar Mahaan Singh was not agreeable to do so. †

Peer Mohammad Khan Chattha once again rose against his overlord. Sardar Mahaan Singh advanced to subdue and punish him in 1783. Chattha lost the battle. Sardar Mahaan

♦ Latif, page. 341.

† Latif, page. 342-43.

Singh renamed Alipur as Akaal Garh, and passed it to the control of Sardar Dall Singh. ♦

Sardar Mahaan Singh went to Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival. He paid a visit to Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya, and, out of regard for his position and age, offered some confectionery as a present to him. Sardar Jai Singh asked him to render to Haqiqat Singh his share of the booty collected from Jammu in 1782. Sardar Mahaan Singh would not oblige him. Sardar Jai Singh treated him rudely and sent him away unceremoniously. Sardar Mahaan Singh felt cut up at this rudeness and made up his mind to pay him back in the same coin.

As he was back home, he wrote a letter to Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, proposing that if he had a mind to return to the Panjab and wanted to recover his old possessions from the Kanhyas, he was sure to receive his succour in the attempt. The Kanhyas had thrown the Ramgarhias out of their entire territory of Batala. The latter subsisted on the fruits of the raids that they made in the Hissar territory at the time. Therefore, Sardar Jassa Singh lost no time in returning home, along with his army, when he received Mahaan Singh's letter.

It was about this time that Sardar Jai Singh had raided some of the territory belonging to Sardar Mahaan Singh. Sardar Mahaan Singh hastened, at the head of this army, to repel the raiders. Their first clash occurred near Majeetha. The Kanhyas suffered a defeat and retreated to Jandiala. By then the Ramgarhias, too, had turned up and joined hands with the Sukarchakias. They persuaded Sansar Chand of Katoh, too, to partake of the venture on their side. All the three of them marched upon Batala. Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya and his son, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, advanced to give battle to the attackers. A very sanguine action was fought near Acchal, in 1784.

Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, the son of Sardar Jai Singh, was killed in the battle.* The Kanhyas were worsted in this fighting. Sardar Jassa Singh occupied Batala and Sansar Chand

♦ Latif, page. 341.

* Griffin, page. 118.

held Kangra now.† Sardar Jai Singh again attacked Sardar Mahaan Singh near Naushehra and lost the field again.♦

The old man, Sardar Jai Singh, felt heart broken at the death of his son. The strength of this misal was now broken to bits. The widow of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, Sardarni Sada Kaur, was a farseeing lady. She thought of a way to recoup the fallen state of her misal. She arranged to have her daughter, Mehtab Kaur, betrothed to Ranjeet Singh the son of Sardar Mahaan Singh, with the consent of Sardar Jai Singh. The two youngsters were married the next year, 1786.*

The news of Chaudhri Ghulam Mohammad Chattha's recalcitrance reached Sardar Mahaan Singh now again. He, therefore, besieged the fort of Maanchar, Near Wazirabad, in 1790. Both the parties were at war now. Ranjeet Singh was a boy of ten years at the time. He had joined the battle by the side of his father and was riding an elephant and encouraging his army. The Chatthas were beaten in the fighting and Sardar Mahaan Singh took possession of the fort.

Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi had three sons: Sukha Singh, Sahib Singh and Fateh Singh. Sahib Singh was the ruler of Gujrat. He quarrelled with Sukha Singh, who was killed during a clash with his brother. Sardar Gujjar Singh advanced towards Gujrat in order to avenge Sukha Singh's death. Sahib Singh made preparation to resist his own father. Gujjar Singh dispossessed Sahib Singh of his territory, made it over to Fateh Singh and returned to Lahore. The sister of Mahaan Singh was married to Sahib Singh. Therefore, he helped Sahib Singh recover his possessions from Fateh Singh soon after that.

The two brothers were at war for several years while Mahaan Singh had been helping his brother-in-law, Sahib Singh. Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi died in 1791.** Sahib Singh was, thus, the ruler of his territory in his own right. Mahaan Singh asked for a tribute from Sahib Singh on the

† Cunningham, page. 118.

♦ Latif, page. 344.

* Ibid, page. 344; Griffin, page. 75.

** Cunningham, page. 118.

excuse that he had helped Sahib Singh all along. On refusal by the latter of pay it to him, Mahaan Singh attacked him.

Sahib Singh knew that he could not defeat Mahaan Singh in an open fight. He, therefore, took shelter in the fort of Sohdra and Mahaan Singh laid a siege to it but he took ill during this fighting and was forced to return to Gujranwala, leaving the charge of his army to his twelve year old son, Ranjeet Singh.

Ranjeet Singh continued the fight in his father's absence and played his part bravely and well. Karam Singh Dulloo, the ruler of Chiniot and Jodh Singh Bhangi advanced in aid of Sahib Singh. When Ranjeet Singh had the news of it, he quickly marched against them, and, before they knew it, he had rushed upon them at Kot Maharaja. The Bhangi ranks were unable to oppose Ranjeet Singh, lost the battle and fled the field.

Sardar Mahaan Singh received the happy news of this victory. He was mightily pleased to hear it. But he was nowhere near recovery and he died, in 1792, at the early age of twenty-seven years.* As soon as Ranjeet Singh heard about Mahaan Singh's death, he lifted the siege of Sohdra and returned home.

* Latif, page. 344; Griffin, page. 114; Cunningham, page. 118; Narang, page. 293; Lady Login, page. 102.

RANJEET SINGH : EARLY LIFE

The most eminent personality of the time, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, was born on November the 2nd, 1780 in Gujranwala, to Sardarni Raaj Kaur the wife of Sardar Mahaan Singh.* Sardarni Raj Kaur, was the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind. Sardar Mahaan Singh was just back from the brattle of Rasool Nagar, which he had won. That gave the Child the name, Ranjeet Singh, that is, the lion that is the winner of the battles. Festivities were held and the poor were given alms in the whole of the town and for several days. Most of the prominent Sardars of the Panjab had assembled at Gujranwala to felicitate the family of the new born, and they were treated with generous hospitality.

Ranjeet Singh was a Child of just a few years when he had a severe attack of small-pox, during which he lost one of his eyes. No one could say at that time that child with one eye was going one day to be the light of millions of his countrymen, who would be proud to bow to him in loyalty.

He was sent to learn reading and writing at the age of about six years. Sardar Mahaan Singh sent him to the local Dharmshala or Sikh Temple for attaining literacy from Bhai Bhag Singh. He was made to learn the use of weapons of war from Pandit Amir Singh at the same time.** He was a boy of great daring and soldierly leanings. That was the reason that he did not pay much heed to scholarship as such. He was able to read the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of the Sikhs.† But he was deeply devoted to the art of using the

* Mc. Gregor, vol. I, 1846, page. 152; Latif, page. 341. The inscription on the Mausoleum of Ranjeet Singh, in Lahore, gives November the 2nd. But the following historians mentioned it as November the 13th. Ganda Singh, page 4. (English) referring to Sohan Lal and Bootey Shah. Sinha (English), page 7. Kohli, page 56.

** Ganda Singh, page. 5.

† He read daily a part of the **Granth** early in the morning and alone during his life time.

weapons of the battle field. That was how he could use these weapons like an expert while still in his youth. He was a warrior of a high order of his time, beyond a doubt.

He accompanied his father on his battles and similar other ventures since his early years. He was hardly ten years old when he took part in the siege of Maanchar by the side of his father. He fought the battle of Kot Maharaja, commanding his army by himself alone for the first time, and, he won a victory. It was at that time that Sardar Mahan Singh had died, leaving a heavy responsibility to his raw, young and tender shoulders.

Sardar Mahan Singh had during his life time, performed the ceremony of appointing his only son, Ranjeet Singh, as his successor. Ranjeet Singh thus, automatically took up the lead of his misal, on the death of his father. But, actually, it was his mother, Mrs. Malwayen, who managed the affairs of the state, with the help of Minister Lakhpat Rai and Sada Kaur.

The territories of the Chathas adjoined that of Ranjeet Singh. The two ruling families had been frequently locked in bloody feuds for long years. One day, in 1793, Ranjeet Singh happened to step into the territory of the Chatthas while hunting in the jungle, when he had parted company with his own men. Hashmat Khan Chattha was also hunting there alone and stumbled upon Ranjeet Singh who was only thirteen years old then. On seeing him alone, Hashmat Khan drew his sword and rushed to attack him. The Lion of the Panjab kept steady and on the alert and opposed the enemy like a seasoned soldier, parried the stroke of Hashmat Khan and returned him such a sword blow as to cut his head clean off his shoulders.* Ranjeet Singh placed the head of his foe at the point of his lance and joined his men.

Ranjeet Singh was still a raw young man when another storm burst in the land of the Panjab. Taimoor Shah, the King of Afghanistan, died on May 18, 1793. His son, Shah Zaman, succeeded him. He was very enthusiastic about conquering the Panjab, as his grandfather and father had done before

* Latif, page. 348; Ganda Singh, page. 5; Kohli, page. 62.

him, and rule over the territories again which had been lost during the reign of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Shah Zaman was a young man, twenty-three years old, then. He despatched his agents to Shah Alim the Second, the Emperor of Delhi, the Maharathas, the Muslim Nawab of Oudh and the British Resident at Lucknow. He wrote to all these rulers, saying that his aim was to conquer the territories of the Sikhs alone.

Every one of these rulers wrote back to encourage him to take in hand the adventure as it pleased him. He marched at the head of his army and took his position at Peshawar, which he left, on December 15, 1793, for the Panjab. As the Pathan forces crossed the River Attock, he found the Sikhs there, ready to give him battle. Thereupon, Shah Zaman avoided and bypassed them, instead of advancing into their land. He marched along the river towards Derajats-Muzaffar Khan, the ruler of Multan, Faiz Ulla Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, Ghulam Nabi Khan Leti, the ruler of Lahia and the Amirs of Sindh turned up there to offer tributes to him. He, however, returned to Kabul from there.

Shah Zaman sent General Paindey Khan to Kashmir, while on his way back to Kabul. The General arrested the Governor of Kashmir and despatched him to Kabul and appointed Abdulla Khan Alkozai the Governor there.

It was at this time that the brother of Shah Zaman, Hamayun, was taken to him as a prisoner. The Shah had the eyes of Humayun pulled out of their sockets, and promoted the captor of Humayun, named Mohammad Khan, to be the Governor of Dera Ismael Khan.

Shah Zaman left Kabul, on November 3, 1795, and marched into India with a view to attack the Panjab, again. As soon as his forces had crossed to the left bank of the Attock, they were furiously attacked by the Sikh armies. The Afghans retreated across the Attock even during the first Sikh onset. Shah Zaman, next, crossed the river again at the head of all his forces. The Sikh armies retreated to some distance and let Shah Zaman encamp in Hassan Abdal. Ranjeet Singh left the fort of Rohtas and moved back. Ahmad Khan Sahanchi Bashi advanced and occupied the fort of Rohtas.

The Sikhs to the south of the River Jehlam and the Afghans on the opposite bank, now faced each other. There were some clashes between the Pathan and the Sikh armies at a few places, as the one at the village of Pind Dadan Khan. Shah Zaman, at length afraid of the Sikh superiority and without fighting any large action, returned to Kabul, even from Hassan Abdal, on January the 1st, 1796.

Now Ranjeet Singh found time to go to Batala to render help to his mother-in-law. The Ramgarhia Sardars has dispossessed her of some of her territory. But he was obliged to return home on account of heavy rains without achieving his objective. This happened in the year, 1796.

There came the news of Shah Zaman, that he was preparing to organise a big invasion of this country. His diplomatic agents had met the Emperor of Delhi and the Mahrathas. One of his agents saw Ranjit Singh, too, and asked him to make presents to the King of Kabul through him. He replied that he proposed to meet the Shah and offer presents to him only on the field of battle.*

Shah Zaman invaded India as soon as he had made sure of his competence for victory. He commanded an army, eighty thousand strong, equipped with sixty-three big and seven small guns.† He left Kabul on October the 12th, 1796, and halted at Peshawar. He spent a month there to make requisite additions to his striking power. He wrote to the Sikhs, asking them to submit to his overlordship. But, at that time, the Sikhs preferred to die fighting rather than accept the rule of an outsider. Ranjeet Singh was their leader who was called their Raja. They were ready at the heads of their forces, in their cantonments, to give a hot reception to the invader: Ishar Singh at Sarai Kaala, Milkha Singh at Rawalpindi, Mohar Singh at Rohtas, Sahib Singh at Gujrat, Dal Singh at Ahimadabad, Ranjeet Singh at Ram Nagar, Lehna Singh at Lahore and Gulab Singh at Amritsar.♦

Shah Zaman left Peshawar on November the 26th, 1796, and reached the River Attock. The Afghan army crossed the

* Gupta, vol. III, page. 61.

† Ibid, page. 62.

♦ Ibid, page. 66.

Attock and plundered and set on fire some villages. It met Sardar Milkha Singh who blocked its passage at Rawalpindi. Both the armies retreated from the field after a brief confrontation. Sardar Milkha Singh thought it proper to fall back on Rohtas after that.

Shah Zaman himself crossed the river on December the 6th, 1796. The Sikh leaders had this news and sent their families to far off and safe places and they felt more carefree then to fight the foreign invader than formerly. The families of Raja Ranjeet Singh and Sardar Dall Singh took refuge in Patiala.

Sardar Milkha Singh and Sahib Singh joined Ranjeet Singh. There had been some minor clashes between the Sikhs and the Afghans so far. Shah Zaman once more wrote to Raja Ranjeet Singh, suggesting his partnership with the forces of the foreigner. His only answer was to try his luck at the bloody fields of the battles. Shah Zaman wrote to Sardar Lehna Singh, too, telling him to submit to the former and accept the governorship of Lahore. But he, too, showed no inclination to bow and oblige him.

Sardar Lehna Singh left Lahore before the arrival of Afghan army there. Shah Zaman entered leaderless Lahore on January the 1st, 1797. He did not plunder the city; yet he charged jazia, the tax on non-Muslim citizens, three times and, thus made twenty-two lakhs of rupees.

The Sikhs had kept on the trail of Shah Zaman all right. Several bands of them hovered around Lahore all the while. At times, the Afghan units attacked some of these bands outside in the open. A party of the Afghan cavalry attacked Amritsar, on January the 11th. But they were beaten off by a band of the Sikhs and retreated to Lahore. Shah Zaman attacked Amritsar the following day, at the head of his entire army. There were about fifty thousand Sikhs who had assembled there to beat him off. The fighting continued the whole day long on January the 12th. The Pathans grievously lost the day and the Sikhs pursued them back to the wall of Lahore.* Had the Sikhs, too, possessed gun-batteries, they would have known no rest till they had thrown the Afghans

* Gupta, vol. III, page. 76.

out of Lahore. Twenty thousand Afghans and fifteen thousand Sikhs had lost their lives in this battle. Shah Zaman despatched his army to capture Amritsar again on another day. The Afghans were defeated and packed off to Lahore again.

It might be recalled that not a single Sikh Sardar from beyond the River Satlej, that is, from Nabha, Patiala, Jind and other territories, had thurned up in aid of the Sikhs to their north, in this war. The Mahrathas and the other Hindu Rajas, too, had lent no hand to their compatriot of the north, but stuck to their homes and hearths, On the contrary, all the Muslim rulers for North India had joined their forces with Shah Zaman.

The Sikh had harassed Shah Zaman sharply. Parties of them prowled around the enemy camps and they dispossessed the enemy supply parties of whatever they had carried. Raja Ranjeet Singh played the most prominent part in this game. This work of the Sikh patriot had confounded Shah Zaman most on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the news of the mutiny engineered by Mahmood, the brother of Zaman, at Hirat, reached him. Shah Zaman, almost broken-hearted, made ready to beat a retreat. He, thus, recrossed the river Ravi, on January the 30th, 1797, and reached Peshawar on February the 25th. He appointed Ahmad Khan Sahanchi Bashi the Governor of Rohtas, the territory between the two rivers, the Jehlem and the Attock. He had detailed no forces, nor appointed any rulers to the east of the river Jehlem.

The Sikhs occupied the entire country to the east of the Jehlem once again. The next question that arose was about the territory beyond the Jehlem. The Sikh Sardards, Sahib Singh, Milkha Singh, Bhag Singh, Budh Singh, Ram Singh of Sarai Kaala, Natha Sigh, Dyal Singh, Suddha Singh, Ram Singh Bedi, Jodh Singh, Dharm Singh and others met at Gujrat, to find the way to occupy that part. Sahanchi Bashi quietly attacked the Sikhs with the help of an army of twelve thousand men at Gujrat. No hold were barred on the side of sSikhs who fought the foe grimly. Ahimad Khan Sahanchi Bashi was killed while fighting and his army saved their skins by melting away speedily.

This incident happened on April the 29th, 1797. Three thousand Pathans and several of their general had been killed in this fighting. The Sikhs took into possession all the material that the Pathans had left in the fort of Rohtas and Regained possession of all the territory across the Jehlem. The head of the Sahanchi Bashi was taken to Ram Nagar and presented to Raja Ranjeet Singh.* Rohtas was again taken over by the Sardars of Raja Ranjeet Singh. It was during this year that Raja Ranjeet Singh retook possession of the territory of Ram Nagar that had previously mutinied as also Pind Dadan Khan.

Raja Ranjeet Singh had married Raj Kaur, the sisiter of Sardar Gyan Singh Naqae of Satghara, in 1798. This was his second marriage, celebrated with great pomp and show.**

There was another significant incident that had happened in this year. Diwan Lakhpat Rai (Lakhoo) was killed in the Dhanni territory.† Raja Ranjeet Singh, too, had completed his eighteenth year. He, now, took charge of the administration of the state directly in his hand and appointed Sardar Dall Singh, the maternal uncle of Sardar Mahaan Singh, his Minister.♦

* Gupta, Vol. III, pages. 85-86.

** Gupta, Vol. III, page. 12; Griffin, page 76; Ganda Singh, page. 5; Kohli, page. 64.

† Kohli, page. 65; Sinha, page. 8.

♦ Latif, page. 346.

CHAPTER-4 TO LAHORE

Shah Zaman left Kabul, in September, 1778, on his last venture to conquer the Panjab, which was also the last invasion of the Panjab by a Muslim ruler. The Shah commanded a regular army of sixty thousand men in addition to several thousands of the irregular forces. He reached Peshawar towards the end of September and left it on 13th October. His Afghan army crossed the river Attock on 19th October. He reached Rawalpindi on 3rd November. Rohtas on the 16th and Gujrat on the 18th. His loyal Minister, Wafadar Khan, marched towards with an army Wazirabad, the next day. While on his way, he was met by Raja Ranjeet Singh and Sardars Sahib Singh and Nahar Singh who attacked the foe, killed a large part of his army and sent him reeling back to Gujrat. The Sikhs thoroughly plundered the supply train of Shah Zaman the next day; this greatly embarrassed the Shah.*

Shah Zaman had been marching fast to occupy Lahore. But the fear of the Sikhs robbed him of his determination. He had believed that once in Lahore he was to improve his chance of a conquest. All the small and big Muslim rulers of the country had flocked around him. The Hind Hill Chiefs of Jammu and other places had accepted his overlordship. He was supported by large, heavy gun batteries. While the Sikhs could not, thus, dare fight him face to face, they did raid his supply lines over nights, robbed him of essential materials and badly demoralised his armies.

He received the news of a Sikh army having taken its position at Amritsar. Shah Zaman despatched a force of ten thousand men to attack Amritsar. It was yet at a distance of eight miles from Amritsar, when Ranjeet Singh and Sahib Singh fell upon it with a party of five hundred Sikh fighters. Gulab Singh, Budh Singh, and Jodh Singh joined their comrades, along with two thousand Sikh soldiers. The **Pathans**

* Gupta, vol. III, page 100.

lost the battle at the cost of five hundred lives to two thousand and five hundred intrepid Sikh hearts of oak, on 24th November.

Shah Zaman reached Lahore on 30th November, 1798. The leading citizens offered presents of money to him in token of his authority. He minted new currency in his own name. The Sikhs raided a party of the Afghans of Shah Zaman and relieved them of their belongings that they had brought from Kabul. The Shah sent his messengers to the Sikhs again and again, offering terms of peace. But the Sikhs did not oblige. They persisted in keeping their struggles up. They speeded up the pace of their offensive. They carried their swoops to the very walls of Lahore. Shah Zaman ordered the gates of Lahore to be closed day and night; the Peshawari Gate alone being kept open during the day time.

Shah Zaman had put up in the Saman Tower of the fort of Lahore. Raja Ranjeet Singh, along with a few of his chosen soldries and some **Sardars**, one day, pushed close to the tower. The Sikhs rained rifle-fire towards the tower and killed some **Pathan** watchmen. Ranjeet Singh loudly shouted to challenge Shah Zaman: "Listen, you the grandson of Ahemad Shah Abdali. The grandson of the Great Sardar Charhat Singh is challenging you. Come to this open place and try your luck a bit at a duel with me."*

Shah Zaman lacked courage even to show up his face and have a peep at the Sikhs outside. When Ranjeet Singh and his comrades found that silence was the only reply to their challenge, they showered more bullets at the tower and rode their horses and melted away to from tower where they had come. This incident shocked the heart of Shah Zaman with terror. He ordered a retreat of his forces. There was, moreover, news of disturbances from Hirat. Shah Zaman departed from Lahore on the morning of January, 1799. He crossed the Ravi and encamped at Shahdra. The Sikhs occupied Lahore and set up their administration there, when Zaman was yet in Shahdra.

* Kohli, page 68. Ganda Singh, page 6. Sohan Lal, Vol. II, page 39. Bootey Shah, Vol. II, page 638.

Having left Lahore on 4th January, Shah Zaman reached Peshawar on January 30, 1799. This was the last invasion of India by the Muslims. Mahmood gained possession of Kabul in the end of that year, blinded Shah Zaman and shut him up in a prison house there.

No sooner did Shah Zaman leave the country, than the Sikhs reoccupied their old territories.

All the three Sikh rulers of Lahore, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Sobha Singh, had died. Chet Singh, son of Lehna Singh, Sahib Singh, son of Gujjar Singh and Mohar Singh, son of Sobha Singh, now ruled in Lahore. They did not get along well with each other. Sardar Sahib Singh mostly lived in Gujrat. The other two often quarrelled with each other. Their subjects were bitterly aggrieved with this state of affairs. They wanted to change their masters. As they thought over their problem from day to day, they looked to Raja Ranjeet Singh as their likely deliverer.

Another incident cropped up suddenly just then. Sardar Chet Singh had, on instigation from some persons, arrested Mian Badar-ud-Din and imprisoned him without any investigation. The Mian was the son-in-law of Mian Ashiq Mohammad, who headed a much respected and powerful party in Lahore. They wrote several petitions to Sardar Chet Singh, but all to no purpose. Then they went to Sardar Chet Singh in a large deputation. He summarily dismissed them with insults.* At last, all of them agreed that the only way open to them was to invite Raja Ranjeet Singh to occupy Lahore as its sole ruler.

Hakeem Hakim Rai, Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, Mian Ashiq Mohammed, Mian Mohkam Din, Mohammed Bakar, Mufti Mohammad Mukarram, Mir Shaadi and several others of the gentry of Lahore wrote a petition to Raja Ranjeet Singh inviting him to come and be the ruler of Lahore. Some of the petitioners went to Ram Nagar and spoke to him personally in the matter. Ranjeet Singh received them kindly and with due respect and gave them a full assurance of his help. He sent his trusted agent, Qazi Abdur Rahimaan of Ram Nagar

* Latif, pages 348-49.

with them to Lahore. He himself repaired to Batala in order to consult Rani Sada Kaur about it. She advised him to take possession of Lahore and accompanied him in order to help him in the venture. The two of them started with an army of five thousand men,[†] by way of Amritsar and reached Lahore on the morning of 4th July.

Qazi Abd-ur-Rahiman had drawn the details of the conspiracy with all the important personalities of Lahore and Bagwanpura. Some of the citizens advanced to meet Ranjeet Singh at some distance from the city. They had then encamped at the Garden of Wazir Khan.♦ Both the days (4th-5th July, were spent in devising the plans of the capture of Lahore by Ranjeet Singh.

Ranjeet Singh attacked the Lahari Gate and Rani Sada Kaur the Delhi gate, in the morning of 6th July, according to the plan, Sardar Chet Singh himself was at the Lahari Gate to defend it. His watchmen had secretly been won over by Ranjeet Singh. They informed Sardar Chet Singh, a little before Ranjeet Singh had arrived there that the Sukarchakias were about to attack the Delhi Gate. Sardar Chet Singh and his solers headed towards the Delhi Gate. Just then Ranjeet Singh moved up to the Lahari Gate. The Gate-keepers opened the shutters under orders of Mohkam Din. Ranjeet Singh, thus, entered the town along with his army. Sardar Chet Singh was informed of it, while still on his way that Ranjeet Singh had already entered the city by the Lahari Gate and Sada Kaur by the Delhi Gate. Knowing that resistance in the Streets was going to be a futile exercise, Sardar Chet Singh took shelter behind the walls of the fort. In this way Raja Ranjeet Singh succeeded in gaining possession of Lahore, with the help of the gentry of the town.*

Sardar Chet Singh felt safe behind the walls of the fort. Mohar Singh and others fled Lahore. The troops of Ranjeet

[†] Latif, page 349.

♦ The buildings of the museum and the public library are located there.

* Gupta, vol. III, page. 126; Latif, page. 350; Sinha, page. 12; Kohli, pages 70-71; Griffin, page. 117; Narang, page. 138.

Singh settled in the trenches opposite the fort. There was some firing from both sides. Sada Kaur lost no time in coming in between the two rulers and had a compromise made between them. Sardar Chet Singh left the fort the following day. Ranjeet Singh showed due respect to his rival and offered to him the free-hold of Waneikay for his subsistence where he settled in peace.

Raja Ranjeet Singh issued strict orders to his army to the effect that no military man was to cause the slightest harm to any citizen of Lahore. All the inhabitants were assured of the preservation of their honour and security and they were prompted to go about their callings and work as usual. Thus, a new administration had been established there without any disturbances.

All the leaders of the public were invited to an open assembly the next day, where they were politely treated and offered presents in accordance with their respectability. Mian Mohkam Din was honoured with the title of **Baba** or Grandfather and some others received the titles of **Sahib** and **Miharbaan**. The outer walls of the fort and the city were rebuilt with pucca bricks and thousands of rupees were spent on other works of public welfare.

CHAPTER-5 THE MAHARAJA.

Lahore had been occupied by Ranjeet Singh, but, no doubt, the country around it was ruled by numerous small chieftains who were independent or semi-independent of one another. Ranjeet Singh himself held Gujranwala, to the north-west of which he held his own, scattered territories. Sardar Gulab Singh Bhangi ruled in Amritsar. Rani Sada Kaur and the Ramgarhias ruled over the Riarki territory. Julundur Doaba was under the rule of the Ahluwalia and Dallewalia **Misals** and some other lesser **Sardar**. Nearly all the territory to the east of the River Satlej was held by other Sikh **Sardars**. There were other small Sikh chieftains ruling in the Doabas or Bari, Rachna and Chaj.

The rest of the Southern and Western Panjab was wholly under Muslim rulers, of whom the following were well-known: Nawab Nizam-ud-Din Khan Pathan of Qasur, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Saddo Zai Pathan of Multan, Abdus Samad Khan of Dera, Mohammad Shah Niwaz Khan of Maankhaira, Hot, Bannu and the area around it, and Sarwar Khan of Tonk, all of them being the Governors of their territories, once feudatories of Kabul, but now independent of it; Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan and the part of Multan under Nawab Bahawal Khan, Daudputra, Ahimad Khan Sial of Jhang, Fateh Khan Barakzai of Peshawar, Azim Khan, the brother of Fateh Khan in Kashmir and Jahan Dad Khan of the fort of Attock. The hilly Area from Jammu to the River Satlej was ruled over by the Hindu Rajas. That was the position when Ranjeet Singh had taken possession of Lahore, the capital of this part of India.

None of the neighbouring rulers liked Ranjeet Singh's becoming the chief of Lahore. All of them envied him for this speedy rise in his power. His possession of Lahore had par-

ticularly awed every other ruler. Thus, all of them entertained ill-will against him.

Nizam-ud-Din of Qasur had himself wanted to rule Lahore, though the people of Lahore had preferred Ranjeet Singh to be their King. Thus, the Qasur chief saw no hope or help in the circumstances. He towards against Ranjeet Singh in a big battle. He conspired for it in league with the other Sikh Sardars. Sardar Gulab Singh Bhangi of Amritsar, Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat, Sardar Jodh Singh of Wazirabad, Nizam-ud-Din of Qasur and the sons of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, along with their armies, assembled at Amritsar. And early in the year, 1800, these arms advanced towards Lahore.

Raja Ranjeet Singh and Rani Sada Kaur too marched from Lahore and took their positions near the village of Bhaseen. Both the armies faced each other in their trenches for two months. There were minor skirmishes, but no big, decisive battle had been fought. Meanwhile Sardar Gulab Singh Bhangi died of excessive drinking. His army was terribly disheartened by this misfortune. It left the battle-field in disappointment. This desertion by the Bhangis discouraged the remaining forces who saw no chance to give Ranjeet Singh a pitched battle any more. All of them retreated from the field quietly home, one night.*

Ranjeet Singh returned to Lahore, playing his bands of victory. A display of lights was made throughout the town in commemoration of victory and thousands of rupees were distributed to the poor people in charity. This victory had added a great deal to the power and eminence of Ranjeet Singh. The knowledgeable persons were now convinced that he was destined to be the king of the entire Panjab one day. Several far-seeing **Sardars** allied themselves with him and acknowledged his superemacy and were awarded by him with feudal grants.**

Raja Ranjeet Singh had depleted all his treasury in the process of occupying Lahore and in the course of the battle of Bhasin, to the extent that he had no cash in hand to pay

* Latif, page. 352; Mc. Gregor, page. 154; Ganda Singh, pages. 7-8; Kohli, pages. 72-73; Sinha, page 13.

** Kholi, page. 73.

his armed personnel. The predicment was overcome through an accidental find of a treasure of gold coins, that had been buried at the brick-burning field, called **Buddhu da Awa**,† which adequately met the demand of the payment of salaries to the army and also afforded enough money to meet the other needs of the ruler.

Sardar Jodh Singh, a son of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, grabbed and plundered the territory of Rani Sada Kaur every other day. She invited Raja Ranjeet Singh for help, and the latter promptly marched to her aid. A battle was fought near Batala that ended in the break-up of the power of the Ramgarhias for ever.♦ The whole of their territory was occupied by Rani Sada Kaur. Ranjeet Singh returned to Lahore.

Ranjeet Singh, now, made up his mind to visit all the territories in the Panjab, with the idea of receiving tributes from their rulers. His intention was to leave undisturbed the rulership of those territories that would agree to merge with his Sikh Kingdom as his feudatories on the condition that they would be loyal to it. The first stage of his tour was the Doaba Rachna, the territory between the Rivers Ravi and Chenab. He proceeded north along the bank of Ravi and occupied Meerowal and Narowal and extracted from their rulers eight thousands of rupees as the tribute money. He moved from there on to Fort Jassar,* which he conquered; and then his armies proceeded towards Jammu. The Raja of Jammu advanced six miles from his capital and accepted the overlordship of the latter and offered twenty thousand rupees in cash and an elephant as his tribute. Ranjeet Singh warmly received the Raja of Jammu and presented him a robe of honour.††

Then Ranjeet Singh marched to Sialkot, laid siege to it and received a tribute from its ruler. He next laid siege to Dilawar Garh, the place of Sodhi Kesra Singh, where Jodh Singh of Wazirabad had turned up in aid of the Sodhi. As

† Ibid, page. 73; Ganda Singh, page. 8.

♦ Latif, page. 352; Mc. Gregor, page. 154.

* Latif, Mc. Gregor, Ganda Singh and Kohli name this place as Jassarwal.

† Latif, page. 352; Mc. Gregor, page. 154.

fighting started, Jodh Singh fled the field and Kesra Singh threw up arms. Ranjeet Singh took Sialkot in his possession and made a grant of land to Sodhi Kesra Singh at Shahdara.♦

Before returning to Lahore Ranjeet Singh went to Gujranwala. He repaired and strengthened the fort there in view of the fear of Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat and Dall Singh of Akaalgarh who were known to be planning to attack it. Ranjeet Singh returned to Lahore after the defences of Gujranwala had been strengthened.

The late Sardar Mahaan Singh had granted Akalgarh to Sardar Dall Singh in largess. Ranjeet Singh reminded the latter of it in a letter, asking him to come to Lahore. When he came there, Ranjeet Singh shut him up in the prison of the fort, accusing him of complicity with Sahib Singh Bhangi in the plot to attack him. He, then, advanced to attack Gujrat with an army, ten-thousand strong. Sahib Singh Bhangi came out of the town and fought his battle a couple of miles away from it. It was a hotly contested fight. The Bhangi Sardar lost his foot-hold on the fourth day and retreated into his fort. The battle was now reduced to a competition in firing by the Bhangis from within and by the Sukarchakias from without the fort.

As the Bhangis felt that their game was almost over, they requested Sodhi Kesra Singh and Bedi Sahib Singh to come and help them. Ranjeet Singh, when pressed by these two elderly gentlemen, agreed to desist from destroying these Bhangis in Gujrat. The two elders brought about peace between the two fighting Sikh forces. Sahib Singh Bhangi acknowledged Ranjeet Singh's eminence and offered him a tribute, and Ranjeet Singh set Dall Singh at liberty. Dall Singh died of remorse as soon as he reached Akaalgarh. Ranjeet Singh confiscated the territory of Dall Singh; but he donated two villages to the widow of the latter for her livelihood.* This was in the year, 1801.

♦ Latif, page. 352.

* Latif, pages. 354-55.

Ranjeet Singh had by then consolidated his power. His subjects were pleased with his administration. The respectable people of Lahore requested him to hold a large assembly of the citizens to declare that he had assumed the title of the Maharaja. The festival day of the **Baisakhi**, on April 12, 1801, was fixed for the occasion. A royal **darbar** was organised wherein poets recited their verses in praise of Ranjeet Singh and the Sikh community. The gentry of the town, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, had a resolution read in honour of Ranjeet Singh and declared him to be the Maharaja of the Panjab.†

In order to complete the ceremony, the Reverend Baba Sahib Singh Bedi made the coloured mark of Maharajaship on the forehead of Ranjeet Singh. The citizens showered flower-petals on the head of their favourite ruler. It was unanimously agreed that from that day on, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was to be called the **Sarkar** (Lord). The currency of the Sikh Raj, the **Nanak-Shahi** Coins, was put into circulation the same day. A large number of the learned and eminent citizens and poets wrote poetic, eulogistic legends, as suitable proposals for inscription on the coins. But the Maharaja approved of none of them. He pleaded: "This Government is run through the grace of Guru Nanak Dev, the true prophet, to whom all of us together are devoted. I am a mere servant of the nation. The Coins and the stamp must be minted in the name of Guru Nanak alone."

Thus in obedience to his wishes, the coin had a Persian couplet inscribed on the face of it, that ran as:

"The kettle (symbol of the means to feed,) the sword (symbol of the power to protect the weak and the helpless,) victory and ungrudging patronage have been bestowed by Nanak Guru Gobind Singh."*

The obverse side of the coin had embossed on it, the place and the year of minting it. The rupee weighed eleven **meassas** and two **ratties**, that is, eleven **grams**, by the stan-

† Ibid, page. 353.

* **Degh-O-Tegh-O-Fateh, Nusrat Bedrang.**
Yait az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh.

dard of that day and it was called Nanak-Shahi rupee or paisa. All the coins that had been minted on that first day, were offered free to the poor people.†

The **Chaudhris**, the **Qazis** and the local leaders were appointed then, as was the prevalent custom. **Qazi** Nizamud-Din was appointed the Chief Judge of the Islamic religious law, and the cases of Muslim marriages and divorces were placed under this jurisdiction. Mufti Mohammad Shah and Chishti Sa-ud-dulla were appointed, as Subordinate Judges under the Qazi, to settle the other cases under the Islamic law. Imam Bakhsh was made the **Kotwal**, (Police Chief) of Lahore. Hakeem Faqir-ud-Din, the younger brother of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, was appointed the Chief Public Health Officer in Control of the hospitals. The officers and the **Chaudhris**, named above, were granted costly robes of honour. Free hospitals were started in the city. Moti Ram was entrusted with a sum of one lakh of rupees to have the outer city wall rebuilt with burnt, hard bricks. A new police force was raised in order to maintain peace in Lahore. It was, thus, the first time, after a lapse of long years, that the city was going to enjoy a reign of peace.*

An envoy of the East India Company, named Yusaf Ali, reached Lahore about this time. He has brought costly presents and a letter of goodwill for the Maharaja from the British Government. The Maharaja received him kindly, presented to him robes of honour and wrote a letter of amity and good wishes to the British in reply to their letter.††

Nizam-ud-Din of Qasur was responsible for the battle of Bhasin. He had instigated the Sikh Sardars to fight Ranjeet Singh who had not forgotten or forgiven him for that offence. Towards the close of 1801 he deputed Sardar Fateh Singh of Kalianwala to punish the Chief of Qasur. Nizam-ud-Din came out of his town to oppose Sardar Fateh Singh. But the **Pathans** were soon driven back to take refuge in their

† Latif, page. 353; Kohli, page. 78.

* Latif, page. 353; Ganda Singh, page. 9.

†† Latif, page. 352.

fort. The Sikh forces broke the gates open and entered the town.

Nizam-ud-Din was terror stricken and raised the white flag of truce. He accepted all the terms offered him by the Sikh General. He submitted to the Sikh Government of Lahore. He paid the cost of the Sikh expedition and also the sum of the tribute agreed upon. He also agreed to lend the service of his army as a tributary, when required. He sent Qutab-ud-Din, his brother, and two of his Sardars, Haaji Khan and Wasil Khan, to the Lahore **Darbar**, as hostages. The Maharaja showed proper respect to Qutab-ud-Din and returned home with the presents of an elephant and a horse. ♦

Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra had grabbed some territory of Rani Sada Kaur and, had moreover, assembled his forces on the frontier for a massive attack. When the Maharaja received this news, he marched to Batala with an army of six thousand men in aid of Sada Kaur. When Raja Sansar Chand came to know of it, he slipped into the upper hill ranges out of fear of Maharaja. The Maharaja occupied the towns of Nawanshehar and Nurpur, that belonged to Raja Sansar Chand. He made over Nawanshehar to his mother-in-law, Rani Sada Kaur, and set up his own police station in Nurpur.* All this happened a little after the fight at Qasoor, in the end of 1801.

Sardars Budh Singh and Sangat Singh of Sujaanpur, near Pathankot, too, had been making trouble for Sada Kaur now and then. Sada Kaur made the Maharaja lay a siege to Sujaanpur. Budh Singh and Sangat Singh resisted this onset. But they were no match for the forces of the Maharaja. The gun-fire had blown up the walls of their fort. Budh Singh and Sangat Singh gave up their opposition. The Maharaja made them a grant of land for their upkeep and occupied Sujjanpur. Their other towns, Dharamkot, Sukal Garh and Behirampur, were handed over to Rani Sada Kaur.† And the Maharaja returned to Lahore, after making these arrangements.

♦ Latif, page. 354.

* Latif, page. 355. Mc. Gregor, page. 155.

† Latif, page. 356. Kohli, pages. 80-81.

Prince Kharak Singh was born in the middle of February, 1802, to Rani Raj Kaur (Datar Kaur) Naqai. ♦ The whole of the city was jubilant to hear the great news. Charities were offered to the deserving poor for a month and a quarter. The **Sardars**, the **Rajas** and the **Nawabs** of the Panjab visited the Maharaja and offered him greetings and good wishes on the happy occasion. A was completed at the end of the period of a month and a quarter, when the baby was given the name, Kharak Singh, with due ceremony.

It pleased the Maharaja to visit the Golden Temple at Amritsar to pay his reverence to the holy place in thanksgiving for the birth of the son. He, then, went to Tarn Taran, to pay his homage to the holy Sikh temple there, that had been built by the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Arjan Dev. He had a bath in holy tank there. Sardar Fateh Singh, the leader of the Ahluwalia Misal, lived in Fatehabad, nearby. The Maharaja invited him to Tarn Taran and had his own turban exchanged with his.* The Maharaja treated the Ahluwalia family in an intimately brotherly spirit all his life. He lived in a spirit of co-operation with the Naqai and the Kanhya Misals on account of their blood relationships with him and had similar regards for the Ahluwalia Misal on account of the brotherly exchange of turbans. This close relationship was of great value to all the parties.

♦ Latif, page. 356; Cunningham, page. 176; Lady Login, page. 103.

* Latif, page. 356; Cunningham, page. 131.

CHAPTER-6

HIS KINGDOM EXPANDS

The Maharaja, along with Sardar Fateh Singh, attacked Pindi Bhattian. He took possession of that territory and made a gift of it to Fateh Singh. Next he invaded next the territory of Dhanni which was well-known for horses breeding. He took hold of four hundred of the best horses as tribute and passed this territory, too, to the control of Sardar Fateh Singh.* He besieged the fort of Chiniot, during his return to Lahore. Its ruler, Dardar Jassa Singh, the son of Sardar Karam Singh Dulloo, had estranged his subjects through his high-handedness. The Maharaja had, thus, acted on a complaint from them. The siege lasted for two months.

Sardar Jassa Singh got tired of it at last and evacuated the fort. The Maharaja took possession of it and the territory, and granted a largess to Sardar Jassa Singh†.

The Maharaja received the news, while still in Chiniot, that the ruler of Daska had refused to pay the revenue to the Lahore Government whose army attacked him now. The Governor of the fort fled, and the Maharaja set up a firm police station there. Sardar Uttam Singh Majeethia, too, had rebelled against Lahore. The Maharaja took him a prisoner and marched him to Lahore with him. Majeethia was let off in a few days, after the payment of a fine.**

Nawab Nizam-ud-Din of Qasur found an opportunity to rebel against Lahore during the absence of the Maharaja who had gone to Chiniot. The **Nawab** had taken into his possession two villages belonging to Lahore. He had thousands of Muslim fanatics (**Ghazis**) assembled in the name of Islam, to his help. The Maharaja and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia attacked Qasur in the end of the year 1802. The **Pathans**

* Latif, page. 356.

† Kohli, page. 83; Ganda Singh, page. 10; Sinha, page. 15.

** Latif, page. 356.

came out of the town and fought their battle stubbornly. It was a bloody encounter. But, at last, the **Pathans** were compelled to retreat into their fort, leaving behind them thousands of their **Ghazis** dead in the field.

The Sikh army besieged the fort, broke the gates of the city wall open and plundered the business streets. The **Pathans** were despaired of a chance of victory, or escape. They, accordingly, gave up resistance. Nizam-ud-Din begged forgiveness of the Maharaja on bended knees. The broad-minded Lion of the Panjab treated him liberally and let him keep the control of Qasur in return for the payment of the cost of the battle and some presents.†

It was at the start of the year, 1803, when the Maharaja marched to conquer Multan for the first time. The **Nawab** of that place, Muzaffar Khan, was not prepared for a fight. He, therefore, consented to be a tributary of Lahore. Several of his **Sardars** were in favour of resisting the attack. But Muzaffar Khan did not change his mind. He came out to a distance of thirty miles from Multan and presented himself to the Maharaja, submitted himself to be his vassal and offered tributes to him. The Maharaja received him nicely. He fixed a certain sum of the tribute for the future for him, reappointed him the **Nawab** of Multan on behalf of the Lahore Government.* Multan became a province of the Sikh Government.

Prince Kharak Singh was betrothed to the daughter of Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanhya in this year.†† The occasion was celebrated with great pomp by both the families.

The fact that the Nawab of Multan had yielded to Lahore, gave the Maharaja a big boost in the western part of the Panjab. He had already built his strength in the Doaba-Jullundur through his influence and companionship with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia. He now made up his mind to see for himself the political condition of the territories be-

† Latif, page. 357; Sinha, page. 15.

* Latif, page. 358; Mc. Gregor, page. 156; Griffin, page. 133.

†† Kohli, page. 85.

tween the rivers Setlej and the Ganges. ♦ He wanted to invent an excuse for such a venture. He, therefore, decided to go on a pilgrimage to Hardwar for a bath in the holy Ganges. He stayed there for a fortnight and offered a lakh of rupees to the needy persons in charity.*

He realised tributes from Tara Singh Gheba, Dharam Singh Amritsaria, Budh Singh Singhpuria, and other Sardar of the Doaba-Jullundur, on this return from Hardwar. He occupied Phagwara and gave it to Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia. He spent few days at Kapurthala as the guest of the Ahluwalia Sardar.

Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra was occasionally raiding and grabbing a few villages of the Hoshiarpur territory at this time, in order to swell his possessions. The Maharaja attacked and drove Sansar Chand away from that area and occupied Hoshiarpur and Bijwaara and set up his police pickets there.† All these incidents had happened in 1803. Sardar Bhag Singh had died. The Maharaja took his entire territory into his possession and made it over to Rani Sada Kaur as her largess.**

The Maharaja now started on his return to Lahore from this trip and intended to conquer Amritsar. He advanced from Lahore, along with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahloowalia and Rani Sada Kaur and besieged Amritsar in March, 1804, and asked to Bhangi Sardars to hand over the Zamzama cannon, known as Bhangianwali tope.†† Sardar Charhat Singh had obtained

♦ Cunningham, page. 132.

* Latif, page. 358; Mc. Gregor, page. 156.

† Latif, page. 357; Kohli, page. 87.

** Latif, page. 357.

†† This gun had been cast by the manufacturing expert, Shah Nazeer at Lahore in 1761 under orders of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It is made of an alloy of copper and Brass. Abdali had given this gun to Khwaja Ubed Khan, the Governor of Lahore. The Sikhs occupied Lahore in 1764 and this gun was handed over to Sardar Charhat Singh as his share of the plunder. Somehow it passed into the hands of the Bhangies. Hence its name. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh took it over when he conquered Amritsar. It passed into the hands of the British, when they occupied the Panjab.

it during the despoilment of Lahore by the Sikhs. This was the basis of his claim to possess it. Sardar Gulab Singh Bhangi had died in the battle of Bhasin. His widow, Sardarni Sukkhaan ruled at Amritsar. In behalf of her minor son Gurdit Singh. She refused to part with it. She used it to hurl fire at the armies of Ranjeet Singh from within the city walls. The army outside, too, fired in return. Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia and Akaali Phoola Singh mediated between the two armies and persuaded them to make peace. The Maharaja took possession of Amritsar and offered Sardarni Sukkhaan and her son a feudal holding for their upkeep.

Lahore was the capital town of the Panjab and Amritsar the holy place of the Sikhs and the centres of the power of their Misals. The Lion of the Panjab now had both the places in his control. The Maharaja held a large military assembly in Amritsar on the occasion of the **Baisakhi** in 1804. ♦ All the **Sardars** and the Generals under him, with their selected army units, came to Amritsar. Some Indian officers of the army of the East India Company had resigned their posts with the British and migrated to the Panjab, in 1803, and had themselves enlisted in the Khalsa army of the Lahore Government. They had trained some Sikh units in the British way. They, now paraded these Sikh units under them for a demonstration at the Panjab military show now, which greatly impressed and pleased the Maharaja. He then made the following appointment of his army Sardars:

1. Sardar Desa Singh Majeetha, the officer of 400 cavalry men.
2. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, of 800 Cavalry and foot-soldiers.
3. Sardar Hukam Singh Chimni, the Controller of the gun battery and Commander of 200 foot soldiers.
4. Ghauns Khan, the Captain of the gun battery and 2,000 horse-men.
5. Roshan Khan (Indian), Commander of the 1,000 Najeebi Platoon;

♦ Latif, page. 361.

6. Sheikh Abdulla (Indian), Commander of 1,000 Najeebi Platoon;
7. Babu Bhag Singh Moraliwala, 500 soldiers and largess;
8. Milkha Singh of Rawalpindi, 700 army men;
9. Naudh Singh, 400 army men and the largess of the District of Ghep;
10. Attar Singh, son of Fateh Singh Dhari, Risaldar of 500 army men;
11. Mit Singh of Bharaana, 500 horsemen;
12. Kirpa Singh (Qurba Singh?) 1,000 army men;
13. Nihal Singh of Ataari, 500 horsemen;
14. The Maan Sardars, 400 cavalry men;
15. Karam Singh of Ranghar Nangal, 100 horsemen;
16. Jodh Singh of Saurian, 300 army men; and
17. Babu Baaj Singh, 500 army men.

The following largess-holders were promoted to be **Sardars**, who were required to maintain reinforcements to supplement the regular army at times of need:

1. Bhag Singh of Hallowal.
2. Jassa Singh, son of Karam Singh Dulloo.
3. Sahib Singh, son of Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi.
4. Chet Singh son of Sardar Lehna Singh Bhangi.
5. The sons of Naar Singh of Chamari: all the five **Sardars** were required to maintain an army of 10,000 army men;
6. The Sardars of the Kanhya Misal, 5,000 army men;
7. The Naqai Sardars, 4,000 army men;
8. The Hill Chiefs, 5,000 army men; and
9. The Sardars of Doaba-Jullunder, 7,000 army men.

There were some other petty **Sardars** who were required to enlist their own soldiers, that came to about 31,000 army men.*

The Maharaja undertook to have the Shalimar Garden which he renamed Shala Bagh,† repaired and had the canal of Ali Mardan Khan renovated for the purpose of watering it.

Most of the Muslim Sardars of the Doaba-Chaj, the territory between the rivers Chinab and Jehlem, who were formerly feudatories of Kabul, now voluntarily chose to transfer

* Latif, page. 361; Kohli, pages. 95-97.

† Latif, page. 360.

their loyalties to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh when they learnt of the rising ascendancy of the Lahore **Darbar**.♦ That saved their feudal estates for them. Ahemad Kahn, the ruler of Jhang in this Doab, was the only feudal lord who was independent. The Maharaja sent to him his agent, asking him to send horses as presents and to acknowledge the sovereignty of Lahore. He took this message for an insult. He dismissed the agent and sent him back in disgrace. He started preparing for a confrontation. He raised the cry of religion in danger and, thus, collected thousands of Sial and Kharl tribesmen. The Maharaja took Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia with him and their armies fell upon Jhang. Ahemad Khan moved out of his town and gave a tough fight to the attackers for half of the day, when the Sials took their positions inside the fort. The Sikh army besieged them. Ahemad Khan fled the fort along with the member of his family, on the third day to Multan. His Ghazis turned back to their homes. The Khalsa army occupied Jhang and got hold of all the belongings of Ahemad Khan as booty.

Ahemad Khan sent his trusted messengers to the Maharaja; the messengers begged pardon of the latter on behalf of the Khan and accepted the Sikh rule and promised to pay the tribute money regularly. The Maharaja showed large-heartedness and pardoned him for what had happened. Next, Ahemad Khan presented himself and begged to be forgiven, made presents to the Maharaja and promised to pay a yearly tribute of sixty thousand rupees.*

Having done with Jhang, the Maharaja realised the tribute money from the Sardar of Ucch, a Bukhari Sayyad, named Naag Sultan. He then, proceeded further to Sahiwal and Garh Maharaja where he was offered horses in tribute by their Muslim Balach Sardars. He, then, advanced towards Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan came out to a distance of twenty miles to receive the Maharaja and paid him a sum of seventy thousand rupees as tribute. He was duly honoured by the Maharaja and was presented a costly robe of honour in 1805.†

♦ Ibid, page. 361.

* Latif, page. 360; Kohli, pages. 93-94; Cunningham, page. 132. Griffin, page. 134.

† Latif, page. 362.

The Maharaja was still in Multan territory when the news came that the Maharatha General, Jaswant Rao Holkar at Indore and Amir Khan Rohela, after suffering a defeat at the hands of the British General, Lord Lake, had approached the boundary line of the Panjab, with an army of fifteen thousand men. They were being pursued by Lord Lake. The Maharaja cancelled the rest of his programme and returned to Lahore immediately. The representatives of Holkar, too, reached Lahore, about the same time and offered presents to the Maharaja. They asked him for succour against the British.

The Maharaja arranged for the stay of Holkar and his men at Amritsar and promised to meet him next day. He, then, called a meeting of all his **Sardars** and asked them for their views in the matter. All of them agreed with the Maharaja and decided that the Panjab could not be made the field of battle in that connection and that the Maharaja was to try to bring about peace between the two belligerents. He went to Amritsar next day and explained his views on the situation to Holkar with which the latter agreed. The British General, too, was agreeable to the suggestions. Thus, peace was restored between Holkar and Lake through the intervention of the Lion of the Panjab. The British signed a treaty of friendship with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, on January 1803.*

"The Treaty Lahore, of 1806.

Treaty of friendship and unity between the East India company and the Sardars Ranjeet Singh and Fateh Singh signed on January, 1806.

"Sardar Ranjeet Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh have consented to the following articles of agreement, concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the Right Honourable Lord Lake, himself duly authorised by the Honourable Sir George Hilario Barlow, Bart, Governor-General, and Sardar Fete Singh as principal on the part of himself and plenipotentiary on the part of Ranjeet Singh;

* Latif, pages. 362-63; Cunningham, pages. 132-33; Mc. Gregor, pages. 156-57.

Article 1. Sardar Ranjeet Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, hereby agree that they will cause Jaswant Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of thirty kos from Amritsar immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him, or aid or assist him with troops or in any other manner whatever; and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jaswant Rao Holkar's followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Deccan, but, on the contrary, will render them every assistance in their power for carrying such intentions into execution.

Article 2. The British Government hereby agrees that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jaswant Rao Holkar, the British army shall move from its present encampment, on the banks of the river Beas, as soon as Jaswant Rao Holkar aforesaid shall have marched his army to the distance of thirty kos from Amritsar; and that in any treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and Jaswant Rao Holkar, it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said treaty Holkar shall evacuate the territories of the Sikhs, and march towards his own, and that he shall, in no way whatever, injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that as long as the said Chieftains, Ranjeet Singh and Fateh Singh, abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committing any act of hostility on their own parts against the said Government, the said Chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property. "Dated 1st January, 1806."*

Both the British and the Mahratha armies left their positions and cleared out of the Panjab. And that saved their Sikh country from the devastation that an outsiders' war would have caused it. The Maharaja saw both the parties depart from their separate encampments and himself returned to Lahore.

* Cunningham, page. 379.

Kataas, a town on the bank of the river Attock, was a place of Hindu pilgrimage. The day of **Baisakhi** was celebrated as a gala day there. The Maharaja who was touring that territory, in April, 1806, reached Kataas. he, then, spent a few days at Miani, where he was taken ill.* He returned to his capital town as soon as he had recovered.

The village of Duladi was situated on the boundary line of Nabha and Patiala States. Tara Singh, an officer of the Government of Patiala, was killed in that village one day, and this caused ill-will between these two states. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind supported Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha. And Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thaneswar and Lal Singh of Kaithal lined up with Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala. The fighting continued for two months. Mehtab Singh of Thaneswar was killed in this war. Both the parties called upon Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to come and help them, either wanting to use him against the other.† The Maharaja was, of course, anxious to take advantage of this occasion. He advanced from Lahore at the head of an army of twenty thousand men. He crossed the river Bias and spent a few days with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia at Kapurthala. Then he advanced ahead, along with Sardar Fateh Singh. Sodhi Gulab Singh of Kartarpur presented two pieces of cannon to him. He received horses as presents from Budh Singh the ruler of Jullundur. He was offered at tribute of twenty-five thousands of rupees by Sardar Tara Singh Gheba of Dallwal and the ruler of Rahon as well as by Sardar Dharam Singh of Phillaur, after which he crossed the river Satlej. The Maharaja took possession of Ludhiana that he passed to his uncle, Raja Bhag Singh of Jind.♦ He reached Patiala next and made peace between the two fighting factions and accepted present from them. The village of Duladi was made over to Patiala and Jagraon, Kot, Bassian, Talwandi and some others, numbering thirty-one villages, were taken from the control of the ruler of Raikot and handed

* Latif, page. 364; Mc Gregor, page. 157.

† Cunningham, page. 133; Latif, page. 364.

♦ Mc. Gregor, page. 158; Cunningham, page. 133; Latif, page. 365.

over to the Raja of Nabha. Some other villages in the area were made over to Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia in largess.

As soon as his mission of peace-making was accomplished, Ranjeet Singh returned to Jullundur. Mian Fateh Chand, the brother of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, came to see him there. He handed to him a letter from Raja Sansar Chand, requesting him for help against the Gorkhas. Amar Singh Thapa, a genreal of Nepal, had conquered and occupied Garhwal, Sirmur, Nalagarh and some other hill States. He had besieged Kangra at the moment. The Maharaja promised to help Fateh Chand and marched his forces towards Jawalamukhi.

Zorawar Signh, the envoy of Amar Singh Thapa, came to meet the Maharaja. He agreed to present to the Maharaja double the amount of what Sansar Chand had offered, provided the Maharaja declined to extend the help that had already been promised. The Maharaja was not agreeable to the new offer, adding that he was to respect the word once given to Raja Sansar Chand.*

This reply discouraged the Gorkhas. As the Maharaja reached Jawalamukhi, Amar Singh Thapa lifted the siege of Kangra out of fear and returned home. Raja Sansar Chand gladly accepted the overlordship of the Maharaja. He personally offered three thousand rupees and two horses to him. The Maharaja posted a force of one thousand men at Nadaun and Sardar Fateh Singh of Kalianwala, along with his army, at Bijwara and himself returned to Lahore. These events had happened in 1806.

* Latif, page. 366.

CHAPTER-7

MORE CONQUESTS

Maharani Mehtab Kaur, the daughter of Sardarni Sada Kaur, gave birth to male twins, Sher Singh and Tara Singh. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was very glad at the birth of these two sons; he celebrated the occasion in a befitting manner and went to the Golden Temple Amritsar for making offerings. Alms worth thousands of rupees were given to the needy.

Nizam-ud-Din Khan, the **Nawab** of Qasur, was killed by Haaji Khan and Naseeb Khan.* Qutub-ud-Din Khan, the brother of the former **Nawab**, succeeded him. The new **Nawab** rebelled against his liegeloord, the Sikh Maharaja of Lahore. He proclaimed **Jihad** and the Islamic hordes of fanatics assembled under his banner. The Maharaja took up the challenge and ordered his veteran Sardars and a large fighting force, along with gun-batteries, to march to Qasur. Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Sardar Dhanna Singh Malwai, Sardar Nihal Singh of Attari and others concentrated upon Qasur. The Maharaja himself followed them and joined these commanders.

Nawab Qutab-ud-Din, on the other side, was ready to oppose them. The battle was started by both sides in the early morning of February 10, 1807. The **Pathans** gave the Sikh army a good account of themselves till the afternoon, but, thereafter, they started losing ground and retreated into the fort by the evening, hard pressed as they were by the Sikh forces.

It was a strongly built fort, and the Sikh army besieged it now. The fighting continued for a month. Gun fires were hurled from both the sides. The attackers dug a tunnel at a point under the wall of the fort and blew it up. The Sikh soldiers entered the fort through the breach. Thousands of

* Latif, page. 358.

the **Pathans** were done to death by the plying Sikh swords. The defenders found opposition futile. Therefore, Qutab-ud-Din managed to slip out of the fort. But he was soon captured while fighting. When brought before the Maharaja, he very humbly asked to be pardoned for the mutiny. The Maharaja condoned his guilt and granted him a feudal estate at Mamdot across the river Satlej, worth one lakh of rupees yearly.

The entire territory of Qasur was confiscated to the Sikh administration. Sardar Nihal Singh of Attari was appointed its first Commander. A booty, worth lakhs of rupees, was held by the Maharaja in the form of goods and war material.* The army men, too, had come by valuable plunder at the end of this war.

Muzaffar Khan, the **Nawab** of Multan, had secretly instigated Qutab-ud-Din of Qasur to rebel. Therefore, as soon as the Maharaja had done with the Qasur affairs, he marched his forces to attack Multan. Dipalpur, that fell on his way, was taken over and its former rulers were granted largess.

The Sikh forces advanced further and laid siege to Multan. A part of its suburbs was plundered by the Sikh army. The first reaction of Muzaffar Khan was to give battle to the invader and he asked the **Nawab** of Bahawalpur for aid. But, when the **Nawab** refused to help the ruler of Multan against the Lion of the Panjab, Muzaffar Khan laid down arms. He paid seventy thousand** rupees in tribute and asked for the Maharaja's pardon for his wrong deed. The large hearted Maharaja forgave the **Nawab** and accepted him as the Governor of Multan as before. The Khalsa forces advanced towards Bahawalpur from there. The envoys of the **Nawab** of Bahawalpur met the Maharaja a few miles in advance. They accepted the overlordship of the Maharaja and paid up the tribute money. The victorious Sikh army turned back home and the Maharaja reached Lahore.†

* Latif, pages. 366-67; Cunningham, page. 135; Kohli, pages. 107-108.

** Latif, page. 367; Mc. Gregor, page. 158.

† Latif, page. 368.

It was in this year that the Raja and Rani of Patiala had quarrelled with each other. Rani Aas Kaur wanted a separate **jagir** for her minor son, Karam Singh, to which Raja Sahib Singh did not agree. Both the parties called upon Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to adjudicate in the matter of their dispute. He came to Patiala with a large army in September, 1807. The **Rani** presented to him a brass gun and a necklace of diamonds, worth seventy thousands of rupees. Raja Sahib Singh, likewise, offered his tribute. He entertained him in terms of the dignity due to the Maharaja's position. The Lion of the Panjab heard the case of the two parties and brought them to terms. He made the Raja to donate to **Rani** Aas Kaur and Prince Karam Singh a separate feudal estate, worth fifty thousands of rupees. ♦ Raja Sahib Singh was to exercise full, political powers throughout his life. Both the parties accepted this award.

The Maharaja left Patiala and went further ahead. The well known **Sardars** of the Malwa approached and made presents to him. Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal offered twelve thousand rupees to him and the **Pathans** of Malerkotla paid a tribute of forty thousand rupees to him. **Sardars**, Gurdit Singh and Karam Singh of Shahabad, Sardar Bhagwan Singh of Buria, Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia, **Rani** Daya Kaur, the widow of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh of Ambala and other petty **Sardars**, too, made him offerings of presents. Raja Kishan Singh of Nahan, in **Sirmoor**, defied him by taking up his position behind the walls of the fort of Naraingarh, instead of making presents to him. The Khalsa army advanced and laid a siege to the fort, which was conquered after a bloody fighting of three weeks. Raja Kishan Singh succeeded in saving his life by escaping from the fort in time. Three generals of the Maharaja as well as Fateh Singh Kalianwala, Commander Mohan Singh and Dewa Singh Bhandari were killed during the siege. This territory was offered to Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia as his estate in return for forty thousand of rupees.* Morinda, Behlolpur and other places were taken possession of after that.

♦ Cunningham, page. 135; Latif, page. 368.

* Latif, page. 369; Mc. Gregor, page. 159.

Sardar Tara Singh Gheba died about this time. The Maharaja reached Rahon on hearing this news. The entire territory of the Dallewalia Misal: Rahon, Nakodar, Naushehra and other places, worth seven lakhs of rupees a year, as well as the army of the **Misal**, were taken over by the Maharaja. The members of the family of Sardar Tara Singh were granted a largess for their living.† When the full purpose of this campaign had been successfully achieved, the Maharaja returned to Lahore in December, 1807.

Diwan Mohkam Chand approached the Maharaja to ask for employment under him. He had, at first, been a **Diwan** of Sardar Dall Singh of Akalgarh. He was, next, appointed an officer in the army of Sardar Sahib Singh at Gujrat in 1804. He gave up that post in the end of 1807 and had found employment under the Maharaja, at last, who granted him an elephant, a horse and the command of one thousand cavalry men as a **Sardar**. He was offered, in addition, a feudal estate in Doabla-Jullundher for his upkeep.

The Maharaja marched his army against the Hill Chiefs in January. **Diwan** Mohkam Chand was asked to keep him company. The first place he took possession of was Pathankot, where he asked Sardar Jaimal Singh, the ruler, to pay forty thousand rupees as his tribute. He advanced towards Jasrota, next. The Raja of that place offered no resistance and voluntarily came to own allegiance to the Maharaja. He became a vassal of the Sikh Government. The Rajas of Chamba and Basohli, too, submitted to the Maharaja's overlordship and paid him eight thousand rupees each in tribute.*

It was in January, 1808, that the Maharaja deputed Sardar Hakim Singh and Ghauns Khan in the command of Prince Kharak Singh, at the head of four thousand men, to take possession of the fort of Sheikhpura. The Bhangian canon was used to break open the gate of the fort and the Sikh forces entered it. The previous rulers of it, Arbey Singh and Ameer Singh, were taken prisoners. The whole territory of

† Kohli, pages. 112-113.

* Latif, page. 370; Kohli, pages. 114-115.

Sheikhupura was taken over by the Maharaja and given to Prince Kharak Singh in freehold.†

On his return from the hilly tracts, the Maharaja called the royal **Darbar**, in which he asked for tributes being paid to him by the **Sardars**, the **Nawabs** and other rulers of all the territories of his kingdom. All of them, with the exceptions of Sardar Jiwan Singh of Sialkot and Sardar Sahib Singh of Gujrat, paid the tributes, and received robes of honour from his Majesty in return.

The Maharaja moved to conquer Sialkot, as soon as he had finished the ceremony of the **darbar**. Jiwan Singh shut the gates of the fort and started firing on the besiegers outside it. The army of the Lion of the Panjab broke down the gates of the fort on the seventh day and entered the fort. Jiwan Singh was arrested.♦ All his territory was confiscated and, after a few days he was granted a largess.* Sardar Ganda Singh was appointed the first Commander of Sialkot.**

After dealing with Sialkot, the Maharaja advanced towards Gujrat. Its ruler, Sahib Singh, the Bhangi Sardar, had already full news of the fighting at Sialkot that had terrorised him. He came to call on the Maharaja in advance in the company of Baba Sahib Singh Bedi. He asked for the royal protection and forgiveness, made presents to him and promised in writing to remain loyal to His Majesty for the future. While on his way back to Lahore the Maharaja received tribute from Aalim Khan, the ruler of Akhnoor.

An envoy of the British Government in India came to pay a visit and offered presents to the Maharaja in April, 1808. The Maharaja presented to the envoy five thousands of rupees for his robe of honour and made suitable presents to the British Government through him, in return.††

It was at this time that the Maharaja had Gobindgarh, the fort of Amritsar, rebuilt under the supervision of Imam-ud-

† MC. Gregor, page. 161; Latif, page. 371.

♦ Latif, page. 371.

* Kohli, page. 116.

** Mc Gregor, page. 160.

†† Latif, page. 371.

Din, the brother of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din. Two thousand army men and twenty big-guns were permanently posted there. Babu Baj Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh Bhangi were drafted to Multan in order to realize the revenue amounts from there. Diwan Mohkam Chand was sent to Doaba Jullundher for the same purpose; he collected six lakhs of rupees from there as the overdue sum.

Diwan Bhawani Das left the Government of Kabul and escaped into the Panjab same year. He was a son of the well-known Diwan Thakar Das of Kabul. The Maharaja appointed Diwan Bhawani Das his revenue minister and placed him in charge of his treasury and finance department. Rama Nand, a business man of Amritsar, had so far managed the finances of the Maharaja. Bhawani Das managed his charge very well. He separated the military finance from the civil one and opened treasury offices in every important town. The Maharaja, next, appointed Karam Chand the Chief Government Stamp Director.

CHAPTER-8

THE BRITISH BUDGE IN

The year of 1808 A.D. had a great importance in the life of the Lion of the Panjab. It was during this year that Sikh States of the Malwa were detached from the Panjab. The Sikh princes of the Malwa were nervous on account of the daily conquests of the Lion of the Panjab and entertained in their minds the fear that sooner or later the Maharaja was going to dispossess them of their territories and, thus, drive them into ruin. This thinking led many of the **Rajas** and the **Nawabs** of the Malwa region to meet in an assembly at Samaana, where they decided to accept the tutelage of the British Government in order to escape from the clutches of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The British had ruled in Delhi since 1803. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, Bahi Lal Singh of Kaithal, Sardar Chain Singh, the Counsellor of Patiala and Sayyad Ghulam Hussain, the Counsellor of Nabha visited Delhi, in March, 1808.

They wrote a letter to the British Resident on April 1808, requesting him to persuade the British Government to take the Indian States of the Malwa under its protection. The British authority thought it fit not to comply with their request at the time.* Yet, in reality the request was kept pending informally.

When the Maharaja heard this news, he invited all the **Sardars** and the **Rajas** of the Malwa to Amritsar and assured them that their separate entity would be preserved and protection and security fully granted to them. He did all that he could do to give them full satisfaction in this request and he exchanged his turban with that of the Patiala Raja, proclaiming that they were adopted brothers after that day. Yet, it was a pity that the Sikh princes of the Malwa did not fully trust in his word. Had these Sikh Chiefs trusted the word of the

* Latif, page. 373; Cunningham, page. 136.

Maharaja and had they not accepted the overlordship of the Britisher, the later history of the Sikhs would have been something different.

Some people assert that had they not obtained the protection of the British Government, the Maharaja, was bound to eliminate them quickly. My view is just the opposite of it. If Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, could have placed trust in the word of the Maharaja and, beyond a doubt, be an independent ruler, who made territorial additions to his state, the independence of the Raja of Patiala would not have been jeopardised in any way.

It was rumoured about this time that Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor of France, was planning to invade India with the help of Turkey and Iran. The Government of India had received this news from England. It sent its envoys to Sindh, Lahore, Afghanistan and Iran. Sir John Malcolm was sent to Iran and Elphinstone to Kabul in Afghanistan, Metcalfe was sent to meet the Lion of the Panjab at Lahore. Metcalfe stayed at Patiala while on his way to Lahore on August 22, 1808. Raja Sahib Singh of that place received him with great regards and handed over the keys of his fort to him. Metcalfe returned the keys to him, assuring him that the British Government was to afford him full protection.

When Metcalfe reached Qasur, the Maharaja was, then encamping at Khem Karan. He despatched Diwan Mohkam Chand and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, along with two thousand soldiers, to receive Metcalfe formally. Faqir Aziz-ud-Din was made responsible for the entertainment of Metcalfe, who had his first meeting with the Maharaja at Khem Karan, on September 11, 1808. Metcalfe presented to the Maharaja on behalf of the Governor an English-type carriage, two horses, three elephants with golden howdahs, ornament and shawls. The Maharaja, in return, presented to Metcalfe a costly robe of honour and for the Governor-General an elephant, a few horses with golden saddles and a large number of valuable clothes.

Metcalfe then told the Maharaja the purpose of his visit and made known the terms of the treaty proposed by the

Governor-General, which ran as follows:

1. If France attacked India, the Maharaja was to help the British;
2. In case the British felt the need of invading Kabul, the Maharaja was to extend to the British armies the right of way through his territory;
3. The Lahore Darbar and the British Government were to make a firm treaty of friendship; and
4. The States to the east of the river Satlej were to be taken as under a treaty of protection with the British.

The Maharaja accepted none of these terms, with the exception of the number three. He proposed the following terms in place of what the British had proposed for the treaty:

1. The Lahore Darbar and the British Government should live at peace with each other for all time to come;
2. If the Kabul Government and the Lahore Darbar had to fight or quarrelled, the British Government was not to interfere in the dispute.
3. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was to be accepted as the King of the Sikh Nation and his political power in all the Sikh States was to be recognised.

Metcalfe replied that he had no authority to accept these terms, but he promised to send to the Governor-General copies of the terms of both sets of the proposals.

The Maharaja told Faqir Aziz-ud-Din to attend upon Metcalfe and to continue the talks, while he himself proceeded towards Malwa in order to establish his authority on the States beyond the Satlej. He encamped at the village of Khai. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal, Sardar Gurdit Singh of Ladwa and Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha had kept the company of the Lion of the Panjab. Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Metcalfe met him again at that village. But even this meeting did not lead the two parties anywhere.

The Maharaja continued his campaign. He realised tribute from the ruler of Ferozepur. He sent Sardar Karam Singh Chahil in order to take possession of Faridkot. Chahil occupied Faridkot without any opposition. He, next, besieged

Nawab Ata-ulla-Khan of Malerkotala and realised a tribute of one Lakh of rupees from him. He advanced to Ambala from there and occupied the town. He offered a part of the Ambala territory to the prince of Nabha and a part to that of Kaithal.

He proceeded to Shahabad and Thaneswar and realised tributes from their rulers. He occupied the territories of Sahnewal, Chandpur, Jhander, Dhari and Behrampur, all of them worth fifty thousands of rupees yearly and gave them to Diwan Mohkam Chand as his largess. He further occupied Rahimabad, Machhiwara, Khanna, Chhalaudi, and other places and offered them to Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Sardar Karam Singh Nagla as largesses.

The Maharaja called Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala to Lakhnaur, on November the 24th and had a meeting with him and assured him, in the presence of Baba Sahib Singh Bedi of his friendliness and protection. The Maharaja recrossed the Satlej on December 2, 1808, and reached Amritsar on 4th December. He started talks with Metcalfe here once again.*

The conditions in Europe had altogether changed by now. The possibility of Napoleon attacking India had disappeared. That had turned the English officers of the British Government of India a little arrogant. They had finally decided to extend military protection to the cis-Satlej States, General David Ochterlony crossed the river Jamana, at the head of his British Regiments, to the west bank, on January, 16, 1809. He had crossed the river at Booria and had pushed up to Ambala. The Sardars and the Rajas of the Malwa had extended to him a warm welcome.

It was just at this juncture that the Muslim soldiers of Metcalfe, in celebration of their festival of Muharram, paraded a decorated horse in Amritsar. They clashed with a party of the Sikh band of Akali Phoola Singh and fighting flared up. As the Maharaja had word of it, he came there himself while fighting was on, and ordered a stop to it.** But he was impressed with the way of fighting by the British-trained soldies of Metcalfe. He made up his mind then and

* Latif, pages. 373-77; Cunningham, pages. 137-38; Griffin, pages. 128-30; Kohli, pages. 128-31.

** Mc. Gregor, page. 162; Latif, page. 378.

there that, if it came to fighting the British later, he must see to it that the Khalsa army was, first, well trained on the model of the British system.

Seeing that the Chiefs of the Malwa were for him, Colonel Ochterlony made a declaration to the effect:

"Precept or Iittilnama, under the seal of General St. Leger, and under the seal and signature of Colonel Ochterlony; written on the February 9, 1809 corresponding to the 23rd Zi Hijeh, 1223 Hijri.

"The British army having encamped near the frontiers of the Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, it has been thought proper to signify the pleasure of the British Government, by means of this precept, in order to make all the Chiefs of the Maharaja acquainted with the sentiments of the British Government, which have solely for their object and aim to confirm the friendship with the Maharaja, and to prevent any injury to his country. the preservation of friendship between the two States, depending on particular conditions which are hereby detailed.

"The Thanas in the fortresses of Kharar, Khanpur and other places on this side of the river Satlej, which have been placed in the hands of the dependent of the Maharaja, shall be razed, and the same places restored to their ancient possessors.

"The forces of cavalry and infantry which may have crossed to this side of the river Satlej, must be recalled to the other side, to the country of the Maharaja.

"The troops stationed at the **Ghat** of Phillaur must march thence, and depart to the other side of the river as described, and in future the troops of the Maharaja shall never advance into the country of the Chiefs situated on this side of the river, who have called in, for their security and protection, Thanas of the British Government; but if in the manner that the British have placed Thanas of moderate number on this side of the Satlej, if in like manner small force by way of Thana be stationed at the **Ghat** of Phillaur, it will not be objected to.

"If the Maharaja persevere in the fulfilment of the above stipulations, which he so repeatedly professed to do in the presence of Mr. Metcalfe, such fulfilment shall confirm the mutual friendship. In case of non-compliance with these stipu-

lations, then shall it be plain that the Maharaja has no regard for the friendship of the British, but, on the contrary, resolves on enmity. In such case the victorious British army shall commence every mode of defence.

"The communication of this precept is solely with the view of publishing the sentiments of the British, and to know those of the Maharaja. The British are confident that the Maharaja will consider the contents of this precept as abounding to his real advantage, and as affording a conspicuous proof of their friendship; that with their capacity for war, they are also intent on peace."*

The Maharaja was beside himself with rage when he heard of this declaration. He started to prepare for a war against the British. The war material and food poured into Gobindgarh fort at Amritsar and the army was mobilised there. Orders were issued to the rulers of all the places in the country to assemble in Lahore with their fighting forces. Diwan Mohkam Chand was recalled from Kangra and posted at Phillaur. He was told to remain on the alert, collect a large force there and keep in readiness to attack the foe.

Yet, it was a fact that neither of the two parties was in a position or wished to fight. In reality, neither party could trust its power totally to beat the other party and establish peace in the land of its foe. Both of them were out to make a mere show of their power and each to make the best of its opportunity for the terms of peace. The British had occupied Delhi in 1803 and had the river Jamana for their western boundary line. They and, at this moment, advanced their boundary line to the left bank of the river Satlej without firing a shot or making the slightest sacrifice. They wished the large territory that they had come by through sheer luck, to be grabbed by them somehow.

On the other hand, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was not without many difficulties of his own. His kingdom and power were too immature yet. The Sikh **Sardars** and **Rajas** of the Malwa had gone over to the British. He had no hope of gaining help from any of the neighbouring Rajput, Maratha

* Cunningham, page. 380.

or **Jat Rajas** of the east or the south. The territories that he had recently conquered, could, by no means, be trusted for loyalty to himself in war. The Muslim powers of the west could reasonably be feared to go against him and attack him from behind, in case war came to the east. These were some of the reasons that were responsible for the Maharaja agreeing to accept terms of peace. A *via media* was found, after a little reshuffling of the previous terms of peace, that had been discussed between the Maharaja and Metcalfe. Thus, a treaty between the Lahore Darbar and the British Government was finalised and signed on April 25, 1809, with the following terms :

"Treaty of Lahore : April 25, 1809 A.D.

"Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted; and both parties being anxious to maintain relationship of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by the Raja Ranjeet Singh in person and by the agency of C.T. Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

"**Article 1.** Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore; the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward or river Satlej.

"**Article 2.** The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupies on the left bank of the river Satlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

"**Article 3.** In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship, this treaty shall be considered null and void.

"**Article 4.** This treaty consists of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsar, on the 25th day of April, 1809. Mr. C.T. Metcalfe has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his

seal and signature; and the Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signature,* and Mr. C.T. Metcalfe engages to procure within the space of two month a copy of the same, duly ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties and the copy of it now delivered to the Raja shall be returned."** Lord Minto, the British Governor-General, signed and stamped it on May 30, 1809.

The British Government had issued a proclamation on May, which it had read out to an assembly of the Chiefs of the Malwa and Sirhind, in which it was made clear that the States of the Malwa and Sirhind were taken under the supremacy and protection of the British Government.

The British Government had built a cantonment at Ludhiana to lodge its forces there. The Ochterlony was appointed its Commander, Bakhshi Nand Singh Bhandari of Batala was appointed the representative of the Maharaja at Ludhiana. Khushwaqt Rai was appointed by the British Government its news-writer to the Lahore Darbar.

This treaty had resulted in the Maharaja having nothing to do with the Sikh or other States on the left side of the river Satlej. And his strong desire that he was to build a strong country of all the sikhs was nipped in the bud and ended as futile wish. But the whole country to the north of the Satlej, from Kangra to Multan and beyond Derajat, Attock, Peshwar and Kashmir, was under his rule, and he was legally and admittedly its King. If ever a difference arose between the Maharaja and Afghanistan, the English had no power to interfere with it. In fact the semi-independent countries of the north were beyond any meddlesomeness by the British. This meant that the Maharaja was absolutely free vis-a-vis the British, in, so far as his efforts to extend his boundaries on the north-west were concerned. Thus a new chapter was opened by this treaty in the history of the Sikh State and of the Lion of the Panjab.

* Maharaja signed his documents in Gurmukhi script.

** Cunningham, pages. 381-82.

CHAPTER-9

FURTHER EXPANSION

The Maharaja felt easy in mind for some time regarding the Eastern countries on account of the peace treaty with the British. He repaired and strengthened the fort at Phillaur and appointed **Diwan** Mohkam Chand, the Governor. And he made up his mind to place the remaining parts of the Panjab under his direct control.

Amar Singh Thapa, a general of Nepal, had laid a siege to the fort of Kangra. Raja Sansar Chand was helplessly held under siege. He sent his younger brother Fateh Chand to the Maharaja for succour. Sansar Chand promised to make over the fort of Kangra to the Maharaja in return for his help. The Maharaja, along with Rani Sada Kaur encamped at Pathankot on 28th May. He assembled a large military force there and reached Kangra by way of Jawalamukhi. Anrodh Chand a son of Raja Sansar Chand, came out to welcome the Maharaja a few miles from the fort.

The Gorkhas and the Sikh manned their trenches on either side of the fort. The Maharaja asked Sansar Chand to hand over the fort to him in order to enable him to defeat the Gorkhas. Raja Sansar Chand went back on his word. He evaded the handing over of the fort to the Maharaja. The Maharaja held Anrodh Chand, the son of Raja Sansar Chand as a prisoner now. When a few light skirmishes had been fought, the Maharaja attacked the fort from all sides and took possession of it. The Gorkhas had suffered heavily during the Sikh attack. They fled from there and found refuge in the fort of Malakara. The Sikh army pursued them and attacked them there. The Gorkhas suffered continued defeats and, at last crossed the Satlej River.* This victory compelled all the Hill Chiefs to owe allegiance to the Maharaja.

* Latif, pages. 381-82; Mc. Gregor, pages. 164-65; Cunningham, pages. 146-47; Kohli. pages. 145-46.

The Gorkha General had approached the British General, Ochterlony for help. The latter consulted the Governor General in the matter, who refused to render any help against the Lion of the Panjab.†

The Maharaja held a royal **darbar** in the fort of Kangra on September 24, 1809. He had ordered all the Hill Chieftains to attend the **darbar** and to pay their tributes in token of their allegiance to the Maharaja. The Hill Rajas of Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, Kotla, Shahpur, Jasrota, Basohli, Mankot, Jaswan, Seeba, Guler, Mandi, Suket, Kulloo, Datarpur and of other places attended the darbar, offered the tributes and willingly admitted the suzerainty of the Maharaja. Sardar Desa Singh of Majeetha was appointed the Governor of the hill states. A detachment of the Khalsa armies was stationed in the fort of Kangra.* Diwan Mohkam Chand was again posted at the fort of Phillaur.

Sardar Baghel Singh of the Karorasinghia Misal had died. When the Maharaja returned from Kangra, he confiscated his territory of Haryana, in Doaba-Jullundher, and made a grant of largess to the widow of Baghel Singh for her support.

The Maharaja had received many complaints against Sardar Bhup Singh Singhpuria. He took over his estate and arrested and took him along with himself.

When the Maharaja was back in Amritsar after winning all these battles and gains, a display of lights was made at night in Amritsar and Lahore as festive celebrations. He paid his respects at the Golden Temple and made offerings there in proof of his religious devotion.

He further improved the training of his forces on the British model. He had employed on higher salaries capable army men who had left the British forces and joined the Panjab regiments.††

It was clear that his determination to establish his government firmly in the whole of the Panjab on the right bank of the Satlej was bearing fruit. No sooner he was back from

† Cunningham, page 147.

* Latif, page 382.

†† Ibid, page 383.

Kangra, than he had started for the territories to the north-west of Lahore. Sardar Jodh Singh of Wazirabad had died. The Maharaja reached there in January 1810. Sardar Ganda Singh, the son of Sardar Jodh Singh submitted to the suzerainty of the Maharaja and paid his tribute to the tune of one lakh of rupees. The Maharaja showed proper respect to him and offered to him a costly robe of honour and set him up as the **Sardar** in succession to his father.

Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi, the ruler of Gujrat, though a liegeman of the Maharaja through payment of tribute, considered himself to be independent ruler. A dispute arose between him and his son, Gulab Singh. The Maharaja took it for an opportune moment, crossed the river Chenab and attacked the territory of Gujrat. Sardar Sahib Singh was frightened and ran to the hills for shelter. The Maharaja took possession of the entire State of Gujrat along with Jalalpur, Islamgarh and its other forts. Faqir Noor-ud-Din, the brother of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, was appointed the Governor of Gujrat.*

The Maharaja advanced further and attacked Khushab. Its ruler, Jaafar Khan Baloch left Khushab and defended the fort of Kachh. The Maharaja besieged that fort. Fighting went on for several days, but Jaafar Khan vacated the fort when he knew that he could defend it no longer. He was given a largess by the Maharaja that sufficed for his support and permitted him to live in Khushab.**

Fateh Khan Baloch, the ruler of Sahiwal, had not paid the tribute for some years. The Maharaja marched against him. Fateh Khan made preparation for a confrontation. A very hotly contested battle was fought and Sahiwal surrendered on February 10, 1810. Fateh Khan was taken a prisoner and deported to the fort of Kangra. His territory was taken over by the Maharaja, who lost no time in realising the tribute money from the Sayyads of Uch. These events happened in February, 1810.

While he was still encamped at Khushab, the Maharaja had the news that Shah Shuja, the King of Kabul, was on his

* Mc. Gregor, page. 166; Laftif, page. 383; Ganda Singh, page. 18.

**Kohli, pages. 150-51.

way to enlist the help of the Maharaja himself. Afghanistan had been in the grip of domestic feuds for the past several years. Shah Zaman had been dethroned and blinded by his brother, Shah Mahmud, their third brother Shah Shuja, or Shuja-ul-Mulk, dethroned Shah Mahmud, and had him imprisoned. Fateh Khan Bakarzai defeated Shah Shuja and released Shah Mahmud from the prison and placed him on the throne again. Shah Shuja saw safety in escaping into the Panjab.

He met the Maharaja at Khushab in February 1810, and was received with due regards. The Maharaja paid him Rs. 1,250 towards his kitchen provision. Shah Shuja went to Rawalpindi and met Shah Zaman there. He next organised a small army and occupied Peshawar on 20th March.

The Maharaja collected a large army in Khushab and advanced from there to conquer Multan the fourth time. Mohammad Khan the ruler of Lahia and Bhakkar that fell on his way, paid him a sum of one lakh and twenty thousands of rupees as tribute.† Sadiq Mohammad Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, offered the Maharaja one lakh rupees as tribute and five hundred horse-men in his aid. The Sikh forces reached Multan on February 24, 1810. Muzaffar Khan, the Nawab of Multan was, this time, well-prepared to give the Sikhs a tough time. He was asked to pay the tribute that was overdue from him. He challenged the Maharaja to try his luck in the battle field.

The result was that Multan was attacked on 25th February by Sardars Nihal Singh of Ataari, Atar Singh Dhari, Hari Singh Nalwa and other Commanders. The Maharaja himself rode his steed and went about the field encouraging his warriors. The battle raged hotly the whole day long. The Sikhs, at last, occupied the town by the evening, but several hundreds of their brave men had been lost in the battle.

The **Pathans** retreated into the fort, leaving the day's battle-lines. The Sikh army besieged the fort and started fir-

† Latif, page. 386.

ing upon the enemy it. Muzaffar Khan requested the English for succour and promised to accept their protection. The British Government declined to oblige him.* The Sikhs had the Bhangi gun brought to Multan that shook the walls of the fort. The fighting continued from 12th to 25th March. It was, at long last, planned to dig tunnels and blow up the walls of the fort by exploding gun-powder under them.

One day, in the beginning of April, at the sun-rise, the gun-powder in ther tunnels was exploded and parts of the fort walls blown up at several points. A number of the Sikh soldieries and Sardars who stood near the walls, were injured by the flying stones in the explosions. Sardar Attar Singh Dhari had many wounds and died on the spot. Sardar Nihal Singh of Ataari and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa too were badly injured. The Sikh soldiers were so enraged and incited to see the tragedy that without caring for their lives they drew their swords and swooped through the breaches in the walls into the fort. Their enemies were killed in large numbers. Mazaffar Khan lost all hope of a victory and the raised he white flag of surrender.

He sent his representatives to the Maharaja to ask for forgiveness and promised to pay the expenses of the war, the overdue amount of the tribute and its due instalments. Simultaneously, he signed a treaty to the effect that he was, thence forwards, to be a vassal of the Lahore Darbar and no more that of the King of Kabul. He also agreed to give military aid to the Maharaja during his wars. He paid an amount of one lakh and eight thousand rupees down at that time. He promised to pay two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees yearly for the future. The Maharaja completed all these procedures and then left Multan on April 14, 1810.** The people of Lahore celebrated the day of his victorious return with splendour and delight.

* Griffin, page. 134; Cunningham, pages. 149-50; Latif, page 387.

**Griffin, pages. 134-135; Cunningham, page. 149; Mc. Gregor, page. 166; Lafif, pages. 386-87.

News came from Wazirabad that Sardar Ganda Singh and his relatives had started a dispute about the property of Sardar Jodh Singh. The Maharaja ordered Khalifa Nur-ud-Din, the ruler of Gurjrat, to take over the administration of Wazirabad. The Khalifa attacked Wazirabad under orders of the Maharaja and took possession of it after a brief struggle. This had occurred in June 1810. The Maharaja awarded a largess of ten thousands of rupees to Ganda Singh and Amrik Singh, the sons of Jodh Singh.†

Sardar Hukam Singh Chimny took possession of Jammu at this time. This, too, was a case of a family feud. The Raja of Jammu was one party and his Rani and the Regent of the state, Mian Mota, formed the opposite party.

Rani Ram Kaur, the widow of Sardar Beghel Singh, had the possession of the fort of Bahadurgarh. The Maharaja took over the fort from her for reasons of defence and granted her a separate estate.

Sardar Nidhan Singh Hattoo of Marhaka, in the district of Lahore, who was the commander of Daska then, had returned home from the siege of Multan without the permission of the Maharaja, who was displeased with him for this desertion. When the Maharaja went to Ram Nagar in the month of October, he summoned Nidhan Singh. But the latter ignored this order and defied the Maharaja by taking up position inside the fort Daska. The Maharaja laid the siege to the fort on October 17, 1810, which lasted for a month. In spite of that, Sardar Nidhan Singh showed no willingness to vacate the fort. It was not unusual for the Maharaja to besiege a very ordinary fort sometimes and continue the siege for days on end, that could easily be conquered in a single assault any day. His gentleness of mind was the reason for this delay. He believed in shedding no human blood without sufficient reason. His orders were: "Do not undertake fighting, if at all it can be avoided. Instead of having thousands of men slaugh-

† Latif, pages. 387-88; Mc. Gregor, page. 167.

tered in a furious attack and then, capturing a fort, let us here the siege hang on till the foe is tired out and compelled to leave the fort."

But Nidhan Singh was a very sticky warrior. He insisted on holding the fort as long as he could possibly do that. When its patience had exhausted, the royal army one day made an assault on the fort from all sides. The Bhangian gun smashed the walls of the fort. Sardar Nidhan Singh was captured. The fort and the territory of Daska were occupied by the Darbar of Lahore.* The fort a Hallowal, in Doaba Rachna, was occupied by the Maharaja and Sardar Bhag Singh was awarded a largess.

* Kohli, page. 157-58; Latif, page. 388.

CHAPTER-10

CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

When Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia, the Governor of the hill areas, toured the States of Mandi, Suket and other places and realised the revenue overdue from them. The Maharaja was pleased with this achievement and offered him a prize.

He sent Diwan Mohkam Chand, at the head of a force of five thousand men, to the Bhimber side. Raja Sultan Khan of that place opposed the **Diwan**, but was defeated in the battle. He paid an amount of forty thousand rupees, admitted the overlordship of Lahore and promised to pay a similar amount yearly in future.* Mohkam Chand detached some areas of the State of Sultan Khan and handed them over to Ismail Khan, a relative of Sultan Khan, in order to weaken his power.

The **Diwan** and Hukma Singh Chemney advanced further and laid siege to the fort of Kasak, which commanded the territory of Fort Katas, Choha Saidan Shah and the salt mines of Khewra. The siege was continued for several days. Sardar Hukma Singh, at last, occupied Choha Saidan Shah and stopped the water-supply of the fort of Kasak, since the supply came from Choha. This had the desired effect and the fort was evacuated in December 1810. The forces of the Maharaja occupied it and gave its former owners a largess.**

There are several small forts built near the place where the river Jehlam leaves the hills and flows into the plains. The fort of Mangala is the strongest among them. It stands right on the bank of the river. The Sikh force attacked and occupied this fort. All the other forts in that neighbourhood voluntarily surrendered to the Sikh army.†

* Mc. Gregor, page. 167.

** Kohli, page. 159; Latif, page. 388.

† Kohli, page. 168.

In 1811 mother Lachhmi requested the Maharaja to forgive her son Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi. The Maharaja accepted her plea and forgave Sahib Singh for his fault. He was called back from the hills and granted a territory, worth one lakh of rupees in the region of Bajwant.♦ **Sardar** Nidhan Singh Hattoo, too, was let off and set free from the prison-house, granted a largess and appointed a Sardar in the cavalry of the Government.†† Fateh Khan of Sahiwal was also set free and given a yearly grant of fourteen thousand and four hundred rupees in the territory of Jhang. Sardar Dharam Singh of Dharamkot in the Doaba Jullandhar, was also given a **Jagir**. This year was distinctive for two reasons: the **Sardars** were granted largesses and an end was put to the **Misals**, whose territories were confiscated. The largesses mentioned above were granted to their former holders in the month of January 1811.

The Maharaja had gone to see the salt mines of Khewra when he came to know that Shah Mahmud had crossed the river Attock into India. The Maharaja reached Rawalpindi and sent Faqir Aziz-ud-Din from there to meet the Shah and ask him the reason of this visit to this country. The Shah had sent his own envoys to the Maharaja, who conveyed their Master's wish for a treaty friendship with the former. The reason for his being in India, as he stated it, was to punish the Governor of Kashmere, since the latter had helped Shah Shuja. The Maharaja and Shah Mahmud met in February, 1811, established relations of amity and exchanged gifts.*

Now that the Maharaja was back in Lahore, he took up the task of liquidating the remaining Misals, too. Prince Kharak Singh was a maternal grand-son of the Naqai Sardars. He was awarded in largess the entire territory of the Naqayies, including Choochnian, Deepalpur, Sharaqpur, Satghara, Kot Kamalia, Gogera, Jethpur, Havelian and other places, worth nine lakhs of rupees in revenue. Diwan Mohkam Chand was deputed with a force to execute the new dispensation.

♦ Latif, page. 389.

† Kohli, page. 158.

* Cunningham, page. 151; Latif, page. 389.

The Diwan took possession of the whole of the territory of the Naqayies. The Maharaja awarded to Sardar Kahn Singh, the leader of the Misal a largess in Baherwal worth twenty thousand rupees a year.†

It was also in 1811 that Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia occupied the fort of Kotla in the area of Tillok Nath; this earned for him a largess of seven thousands of rupees a year.

The territories of Sardar Budh Singh, of Singhpuria Misal or Faiz-Ullapuria, lay on both sides of the River Satlej. That was the reason why he did not consider the Maharaja fully his liege-lord. He was ordered to attend upon His Majesty at Lahore, which he refused to do. The Maharaja was displeased with him at this and deputed Diwan Mohkam Chand to go and take possession of the territory of Sardar Budh Singh on the western bank of the river Satlej. Mohkam Chand took along with him Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and attacked Jullunder in the month of September. Sardar Budh Singh resisted the attackers for a few days, but then he retreats to Ludhiana and sought protection under the British. His territory, extending from Jullundher to Patti, in Amritsar District, was taken over by the Lahore Darbar. It was worth three lakhs of rupees a year. The Maharaja honoured Mohkam Chand with the status of **Diwan** for this service, and in addition rewarded him with a costly robe of honour, a sword studded with diamonds and an elephant with a golden howdah.*

Most of the territory of the Misal Kanhya was under Mother Sada Kaur. But Sardars Nidhan Singh and Bhag Singh the other two sons of Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya were in possession of Haajipur, Sohian and other places in the region of Mukerian in Doaba Jullundher. Their administration was rotten to the core and the subjects were disgusted with their mismanagement. The Maharaja sent his army to the area and confiscated all their territory. Nidhan Singh and Bhag Singh were awarded largesses for their subsistence†. Whenever the

† Kohli, pages. 161-63; Latif, page. 369. Mc. Gregor. page. 108; Ganda Singh, page, 19.

* Mc. Gregor, page. 168; Latif. page. 390.

Maharaja dispossessed any **Sardar** of his territories, he invariably presented him with a largess, which was adequate for his subsistence.

It was about this time that Jamadar Kushal Singh was appointed the Deohriwala or Chamberlain. He was the son of Hargobind, a BRAHMAN shopkeeper of village Ikri, Pargana, Sardna, District Meerut, in U.P. He was enlisted in 1807, as a soldier, in the regiment Dhaunkal Singh on a monthly pay of five rupees. He improved his chances in some time and was appointed to the bodyguard squad of the 'Lion of the Panjab.' He sought baptism as a Sikh in order to win favour with the Maharaja and adopted the name of Khushal Singh. The Maharaja promoted him to the rank of a **Jamadar** and made him Chamberlain in 1811. He had the entire management of the royal household in his care, now. It was his duty to read the war news to the Maharaja. Any one who sought an interview with the Maharaja, had to gain his consent. That was the reason that his post was considered most important.

Shah Zaman, the dethroned King of Kabul, came to Rawalpindi to see the Maharaja in 1811. The Maharaja received Shah Zaman very kindly and asked him to live in Lahore, where the Shah reached in November 1811. The Maharaja extended a hearty welcome to him and fixed a daily allowance for him.

† Kohli, page. 163; Latif, page. 390.

CHAPTER-11 NORTHWARD

With the start of the year 1812, preparations were set about for celebrating the marriage of Prince Kharak Singh. Invitations for joining the festive occasion were sent to the **Sardars** of the Panjab, the **Nawabs** of Multan and Bahawalpur the Amir of Kabul, the rulers of Kashmir the Hindu hill states, the states of the Malwa and the British Government. Fine dresses were given as presents to the entire military and civil personnel. The Maharaja spent money most liberally on this occasion. Colonel David Ochterlony joined the celebration of the marriage on behalf of the British Government and the **Rajas** of Jind and Nabha and Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal came personally. The representatives of Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Bahawalpur and Mankera attended it. Raja Sansar Chand along with the other Hill Chiefs, was personally present in Lahore. All the well-known **Sardars** of the Panjab and the respectable gentry of Lahore and Amritsar were also present, too. Presentation money, to the tune of the two lakh, thirty-six thousand and thirty-seven rupees, was offered by the guests and friends of the bride-groom's family.†

A large marriage party reached the house of the bride's father, Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanhya, at Fatehgarh in the district of Gurdaspur, with great show and aclet, in the beginning of February 1812. The Kanhya Sardar entertained the party in a manner befitting the status of the guests. He offered the Maharaja a gift of fifty thousands rupees at the reception of the party. He spent fifteen thousands of rupees daily on the entertainment of the party during the days of its stay. The marriage cermeony of Prince Kharak Singh was

† Kohli, page. 168.

performed according to the Anand Marriage of the Sikhs with Bibi Chand Kaur, daughter of Sardar Jaimal Singh on February 6, 1812.†

Sardar Jaimal Singh offered the bride groom's family gifts of shawls, diamonds, horses and elephants, worth lakhs of rupees, on their departure. The Maharaja visited Amritsar, on his return journey home and paid his homage and offered money to the Golden Temple, and gave money in charity to poor persons. Mc Gregor writes that the Maharaja spent two lakhs of ruppees at the Golden Temple in offerings and alms.* The marriage party returned to Lahore from Amritsar, playing merry tunes on their bands.

It was at this time that the royal fort of Lahore was connected with the royal mosque. Ochterleny expressed a desire to see the fort from inside. The Maharaja was agreeable to this visit. But his Commander in Chief, **Diwan Mohkam Chand**, was stoutly opposed to such a permission.♦ It is said that he pulled his sword, barred the Gate of the fort and loudly shouted : "In view of the good and security of the Sikh kingdom, no foreigner shall be allowed to enter the fort." Thus, the desire of Ochterlony to see the fort remained unfulfilled.

Raja Sultan Khan of Bhimber killed Ismail Khan during the time when the Maharaja was busy with the marriage ceremonies of his son. The latter now sent Bhai Ram Singh and Prince Kharak Singh with a fighting force to punish Sultan Khan. The Sikh army sustained some losses during the first clash. Meanwhile, Diwan Mohkam Chand arrived at the scene of action at the head of new forces. The Sikh army conquered the fort and occupied it. Raja Sultan Khan was captured and imprisoned in Lahore. The entire territory of Bhimber was now confiscated to the Lahore Government.†† Simultaneously, the territories of Jammu and Akhnoor were

† Latif, page. 392; Prince Naunihal Singh was born to this Chand Kaur.

* Mc. Gregor, Vol. I, page. 168.

♦ Latif, page. 392.

†† Mc. Gregor, page. 169; Latif, page. 393.

also taken over and given to the Prince in largess. Rajaouri was not taken over, though it was forced to pay a tribute.

Sardar Dall Singh charged revenue to Mitha Tiwana, Uch, Bahawalpur and Multan during that year. He realised tributes from all the landlords and **Sardars** through whose territories he passed on his return to Lahore. The Maharaja appreciated his services, and gave him prizes and a robe of honour.

The Maharaja visited and stayed at Dina Nagar at the start of the summer season in 1812. Sardar Desa Singh Majeetha and Diwan Mohkam Chand realised from the Hill Chiefs the overdue tributes. The Raja of Nurpur paid to the Lahore Darbar a sum of forty thousand rupees and the **Rajas** of Mandi, Suket, Kullo and other states the sum of one Lakh and ninety thousands of rupees.♦

Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanhya, the father-in-law of Prince Kharak Singh, died in August, 1812. The Maharaja despatched Ram Singh there and took all his territory over. The late Sardar Jaimal Singh had large amounts of money of deposit with some of businessmen of Amritsar. All this money was withdrawn from them by the Maharaja for the benefit of the Lahore Darbar. The widow of Jaimal Singh gave birth to a male child three months after his death. The Maharaja donated to him a largess of fifteen thousand rupees yearly.*

Shah Shuja had occupied Peshawar in March 1810. Jahan Dad Khan, the Commissioner of Attock, had arrested Shah Shuja in 1812 and sent him to his own brother Ata Mohammad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, where he was held a prisoner till Diwan Mohkam Chand reached there.**

Shah Zaman reached Lahore, along with his own family and with that of Shah Shuja, in September 1812. The Maharaja provided them with lodgings and daily allowances. Just then the Maharaja got the news that Shah Mahmood and Minister Fateh Khan were advancing towards Kashmir in order to conquer it. The Queen of Shah Shuja, Wafa Begam, was terrified at this news. She was well aware of the possibil-

♦ Latif, page. 394; Mc. Gregor, page. 168.

* Latif, page. 394.

**Cunningham, page. 150; Latif, page. 394.

ity of Shah Shuja's capture by Fateh Khan and in that case, of the sure danger to his life. She sent a request to the Maharaja through Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, for getting Shah Shuja set free from the prison, for which service she was prepared to reward the Maharaja by giving him the Koh-i-noor Diamond, as soon as her husband arrived safely in Lahore.†

Guddar Mall, the agent of Minister Fateh Khan, came to the Maharaja to enlist his help. The Maharaja had promised, on certain terms, to assist him in conquering Kashmir. Therefore, Minister Fateh Khan, thus encouraged, crossed the river Attock, at the head of an Afghan force, in November, 1812. He met the Maharaja at Rohtas on 1st December and agreed to transfer to the Maharaja one third of the territory and of the booty of Kashmir.

The Maharaja deputed Diwan Mohkam Chand with a Khasla force, twelve-thousand strong, in order to help the Minister. The two armies started from Jehlem together. They were overtaken by a severe snow-storm of the winter season at Peer Panchaal. The Sikhs were not used to such severe cold and two hundred of them died of it.♦ They were unable to tread on snow either. Minister Fateh Khan had asked for the help of the Sikhs for the reason that, if the Maharaja was opposed to the former's campaign, he could not, in that case conquer and retain Kashmir. He was, therefore, now prepared to take possession of the valley by himself. And he marched ahead without informing Mohkam Chand of it, for that reason.

Mohkam Chand was no more deceived about that move. He contacted the ruler of Rajauri, and promised to pay him a feudal grant, worth rupees two thousand and five hundred yearly, provided he was able to lead him into Kashmir by a shorter route so that the Sikh force was in the Kashmir valley before Minister Fateh Khan had reached there.

This strategy of the **Diwan** bore fruit. He and his army were in Kashmir before the **Pathans** approached there. They faced Ata Mohammad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, who

† Mc. Gregor, page. 169; Latif, page. 394.

♦ Kohli, page. 174.

had entrenched himself behind the walls of his fort, Shergarh, ready for the confrontation. Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsi and Nihal Singh of Attari besieged the fort of Shergarh and the Hari Parbat, under orders from the **Diwan**.^{*} The army of Minister Fateh Khan too, had turned up there. Ata Mohammad fled, vacating the fort after a brief defence. The Afghans and the Sikh army took possession of the fort.[†]

Shah Shuja was held a prisoner in that fort. The orders for the Diwan from the Maharaja were to the effect that his chief purpose was to have Shah Shuja set free from confinement and then to take him to Lahore. The Afghan army made itself busy with plundering the fort on entering it; but the Sikhs went about looking for Shah Shuja. Either party succeeded in achieving its own separate aim.

Shah Shuja was moved to the camp of Diwan Mohkam Chand. His hand-cuffs and fetters were taken off. The **Diwan** assured him of his personal security and told him that his orders were to take him safely along to Lahore where he was to join the members of his family.

This led to a dispute between the Diwan and the Minister, who asked for the handing over of Shah Shuja to him. The **Diwan** asked the Minister for one third of the booty to be tendered to him as his share. Neither of them was agreeable to accepting the terms of the other. They went their separate ways from there. Minister Fateh Khan marched his forces and occupied the whole of Kashmir and the Diwan returned to Lahore along with Shah Shuja. The Maharaja received Shah Shuja with great respect. He offered to him Mubarik Mansion in the town for his residence. All these events happened early in 1813.

Jahan Dad Khan, the Commander of the fort of Attock, was a brother of Ata Mohammad, the Governor of Kashmir. Jahan Dad Khan knew that Minister Fateh Khan, on his return from Kashmir, was sure to take his revenge on the former. He sent a request to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, saying that if he paid to him one Lakh of rupees to enable him to pay up the

^{*} Latif, page. 395.

[†] Both the armies had jointly attacked and occupied the fort. Kohli, page. 176.

arrears of his military forces and made to him a feudal grant, enough for his subsistence, the former was willing to allow the Sikh army to occupy the fort of Attock. The Maharaja accepted his proposal and promised to meet his two demands.

Jahan Dad Khan was awarded the District of Wazirabad in fief. His army was paid salaries from the grant of one Lakh of rupees through the Commander, who went to live in Wazirabad. The Sikh army took possession of the fort of Attock,* under Sardar Daya Singh as its Governor.

Shah Shuja had rejoined his family in Lahore safely. The Maharaja had extended to him warm welcome. When he was asked for the Kohi-noor diamond as promised beforehand, he shilly-shallied in the matter. He betrayed the Sikh government in another way, also, immediately: he wrote a couple of letters to Minister Fateh Khan against the Sikhs.† As the Maharaja came to know of it, he ordered two companies of the Sikh army to besiege the mansion of Shah Shuja, who, at length handed over the Kohinoor to the Maharaja on June, 1813.

The Maharaja was not unaware of the fact that Minister Fateh Khan was not likely to take kindly to the Sikh occupation of the fort of Attock. He, therefore, detached Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and **Diwan** Devi Dass at the head of an army to strengthen the fort and its surrounding defences. **Diwan** Mohkam Chand and Sardar Karam Singh Chahal were also asked to go to Attock. No sooner did Fateh Khan receive the news of the possession of the fort of Attock by the Sikhs, than he appointed his own brother, Azeem Khan, as the Governor of Kashmir and himself marched back in order to attack Attock. He first went to Peshawar by way of Pakhli and Dhamotor and then wrote to the Maharaja to vacate Attock. The Maharaja told him in reply that he was not prepared to consider his demand before he had paid him his share of the booty collected from the plunder of Kashmir.

* Cunningham, page. 152; Latif, page. 396; Kohli, pages. 181-82; Ganda Singh, page. 20.

† Latif, page. 399.

Both the parties made preparations for a fight. The Minister left Peshawar and encamped in the territory of Chhachh. By then Diwan Mohkam Chand had reached Attock. The Afghans then advanced in order to besiege the fort Attock. The Sikh armies, too, marched forward in order to give the enemy battle in the open. Dost Mohammad, a brother of the minister, also came to succour the army of the latter. This led to several light skirmishes between the two armies. This see-saw course of hostilities continued for nearly three months.

A big battle was fought at a place, called Hazro, and continued for two days, July 12-13, 1813. Thousands of the **Pathans** lost their lives in it.* This was the first main battle between the Sikhs and the **Pathans** in which the **Pathans** were badly defeated.† The **Pathans** were now frightened of the Sikh fighters. Fateh Khan and his forces hurried back to Peshawar for safety. Fateh Khan appointed Yar Mohammad Khan as the Governor of Peshawar and himself returned to Kabul. The Sikhs came back, shouting their proud slogans, their bands playing the tunes of victory. Festive lights in Lahore and Amritsar celebrated this victory. The defences of Attock were further strengthened. Several other forts like Makhad, were occupied in order to control that territory securely.

The Maharaja's heart was set on conquering Kashmir. He was fully aware of the fact that it required careful preparation to possess Kashmir. The first step that he took was to tour the whole of the Northern Panjab in order to assess his chances of success in the venture. Simultaneously, he ordered the Sardars and fief-holders of the Sikh Raj to assemble at Sialkot. The Lion of the Panjab started from Lahore in October 1813. He inspected Amritsar, Deena Nagar, Pathankot, Kangra and other places. He returned to Sialkot and joined the camp of Prince Kharak Singh, where he met Sardar Nihal Singh of Ataari, Sardar Desa Singh of Jajeetha,

* Amar Nath: Zafarnama Ranjeet Singh (Persian) puts the number of the deaths at two thousand Pathans.

† Latif, pages 396-97. Mc. Gregor, pages 170-71. Cunningham, pages 152-53 Kohli, pages 182-83.

Diwan Ram Dyal, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Bhai Ram Singh and other Generals who were already assembled there.

The Maharaja marched, with all his Generals and armies through Wazirabad and Gujrat territories to Rohtas. It was here that the news came that Minister Fateh Khan fo Kabul was already on his way to conquer Multan and that he had reached Kaala Bag by then. **Nawab** Sar Buland Khan of Dera Ismaeel Khan and Abdul Jabbar Khan, the **Nazim** of Dera Ghazi Khan, had joined the Minister along with their forces. Ghulam Mohammad, the envoy of **Nawab** Muzaffar Khan of Multan, came to the Maharaja to ask for help against the invaders.

The Maharaja deputed Prince Kharak Singh to help the **Nawab** of Multan. As Minister Fateh Khan received this news, he marched back to Kabul from Kala Bag.

The Maharaja, at the same time, ordered Diwan Ram Dyal to move towards Rajauri. The **Diwan** Marched up to that place. He made the necessary arrangement at every place of ascent up to Peer Panchaal and then returned and rejoined his base. The Maharaja, too, turned back from Rohtas and reached Lahore on 26th December.

افضل الكارمي نالوا
داستر محمد نرفت
کاغزان فدا
نم نخلوت سیکان بیست

CHAPTER-XII KASHMIR CASE

The Maharaja celebrated the spring festival of the Holi in Lahore and, thereafter, he marched his forces to invade Kashmir. He left Lahore in April 1814. All his armies were assembled at Wazirabad under his orders. He inspected there all the units of the army under their Commanders on 4th June. The entire army marched from there and reached Rajauri on 11th June.

Raja Aghar Khan, the ruler of Rajauri, advanced to a distance to receive the Maharaja, though in his heart of hearts he was a traitor. The Maharaja was taken in by his deceit and divided the Sikh army into two parts on advice from the **Raja**. He appointed Diwan Ram Dyal* to command one part and retained the lead of the other part in his own hand. It was in terms of the plan proposed by Raja Aghar Khan that Ram Dyal was told to advance into Kashmir by way of Behramgala and the Maharaja entered the valley via Punch and the plain of Tosha. Diwan Ram Dyal, Sardar Dall Singh, Ghauns Khan, Sardar Mit Singh of Bharana, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Nihal Singh of Atari and Jamadar Khushal Singh left Rajauri on 15th June and commanded an army of thirty thousand men, who occupied Behramgala on 18th June. There were some light clashes with the **Pathans** who soon fled the field. The Sikh army took possession of Hamirpur where they reached by way of Madanpur. Here it was that a tough, bloody battle was fought between the Sikh and the **Pathan** armies, the latter in the command of Azeem Khan, who was defeated in this bitter clash.

Ram Dyal Marched ahead and attacked Supeen, the best defended front of the Kashmir ruler. Mohammad Shakoore Khan fought valorously here. The battle was undecided at

* Ram Dyal was a grandson of Diwan Mohkam Chand. Mohkam Chand was unwell and had stayed behind in Lahore.

the end of the first day. It started raining before fighting began the following morning and it went on pouring heavily throughout the day. There were pools of water all over the place. Cold winds blew and it snowed heavily during the night. The Sikhs were not used to severe cold. They had their limbs benumbed. Meanwhile, Azeem Khan, too, reached there at the head of his army in order to succour Mohammad Shakur Khan. Together they staged a ferocious attack and defeated the Sikhs, who suffered severe losses. Ram Dyal encamped at a village near Sri Nagar and waited for the reinforcements to arrive.

As for the second section of the army, the Maharaja was still at Rajauri when his forces were overtaken by heavy rains that fell incessantly for several days. The Maharaja, at last, left Rajauri on 26th June and reached Punchh on the 28th. But before his arrival there, Roohulla Khan, the ruler of Punchh, had set fire to everything useful in that place and had hastened to join Azeem Khan.

The occupation of Punch brought no gain whatever to the Maharaja. Incessant rains and the terrible shortage of provisions forced him to stick to that place till the middle of July.

At last he arrived at the gateway of the Tosha Plain against heavy odds. The Maharaja despatched a force, five thousand strong, from there, under Bhai Ram Singh, Diwan Devi Das and Qutab-ud-Din of Qasoor in order to succour and relieve Diwan Ram Dyal; this force, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of Azeem Khan, on 9th July and returned to its base.

The devastating rains had damaged all the roads. There seemed to be no way or possibility to proceed onward for the army of the Maharaja, who reluctantly retreated to Punch. Whatever part of that unfortunate town had been spared before this was now destroyed and reduced to ashes by the retreating Sikhs. The Maharaja arrived back in Lahore on August 12, 1814, by way of Kotli and Bhimbar.

Diwan Ram Dyal had stuck to his camp near Sri Nagar. When the Maharaja had left the valley of Kashmir for Lahore, Azeem Khan attacked the Diwan's army. But the Sikh army fought back so dauntlessly that Azeem Khan thought it wiser at last to come to terms with Ram Dyal. He was anxious to see the Sikh forces clear out of the valley at the earliest. He submitted to the authority of the Lahore Government, sent presents to it and allowed Diwan Ram Dyal to return home in safety. That was how Ram Dyal, too, was able to return from the Kashmir valley. The Sikh forces had suffered heavy losses during this campaign. Sardar Mit Singh of Bharaana, Jewan Mall, Sardar Fateh Singh Chhachhi, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Hari, Sardar Desa Singh Maan and some other generals had lost their lives during this invasion of the Kashmir valley.*

The Maharaja was now back in Lahore. Diwan Mohkam Chand repaired to Phillaur, where he died in October 1814. The Maharaja appointed Moti Ram, the son of the **Diwan**, success to the feudal estate of his father and granted him the title of the **Diwan**. Ram Dyal, the son of Moti Ram, was appointed the Commander of the military forces of the **Jagir** holders.

It was 1814 A.D. that Abdul Nabi Khan, an envoy of the British, came to Lahore and presented to the Maharaja gifts and a letter of friendship from the British Government. The Maharaja responded to this goodwill and amity bestowing on the envoy a robe of honour, and by despatching return presents and a letter of friendship to the Governor-General.

Shah Shuja had an ardent wish to reconquer the throne of Kabul. His wives secretly left Lahore on November 1st, 1814, and reached Ludhiana, then under the protection of the British. Shuja, too, slipped from Lahore one night, in April, 1815. He spent about a year and a half prowling in the hills and, at last, reached Ludhiana in September, 1816. The British awarded pensions of fifty thousand rupees yearly to Shah Shuja and twenty-four thousand rupees yearly to Shah Zaman.

* Latif, pages. 402-05; Mc. Gregor, pages. 172-74; Cunningham, pages. 154-55; Kohli, pages. 186-89.

Pandit Deena Nath came to Lahore from Delhi and was appointed to a post in the revenue department by the Maharaja. He was very competent in his work and in due course was made the head of that department. He was first given the title of the **Diwan** and, next, that of the **Raja**.

Raja Aggar Khan of Rajauri had played foul by the Maharaja, who ordered Diwan Ram Dyal, Sardar Dall Singh, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Akali Phoola Singh in October, 1815, to go and occupy all the Rajauri and other hill territories up to the Peer Panchaal Pass. The Maharaja himself followed them by way of Wazirabad and encamped at Bhimbar, Aghar Khan took his position inside the fort, as the Sikh forced advanced towards Rajauri. After suffering heavily from the fire of the Sikh armies for nearly four days, Aghar Khan fled from his fort and took shelter in the fort of Kotli.

The Sikhs took possession of Rajauri. They advanced to Kotli next and occupied it. The rulers of Bhimber and Rajauri were taken to Lahore. All the territory to the Lahore side of Peer Panchhal was now in the hands of the Maharaja.*

Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia died in September, 1815. A dispute of succession started after his death. The Maharaja seized all his estates, worth four lakhs of rupees yearly and restored peace in the area. The widow and the heirs of Sardar Jodh Singh were granted a largess of thirty thousand rupees.**

Raja Beer Singh of Nurpur had failed to pay in his tribute for some time. When he was asked to come and join the army during the Rajauri campaign, he had ignored the call. The Maharaja deprived him of his territory of Nurpur in January 1816, and awarded to him a feudal estate for his living. Raja Umed Singh of Jaswaan, too, had not paid up his arrears: he pleaded inability to pay the dues. He was granted a largess of ten thousand rupees yearly and his territory was taken over by the Sikh Raj.

The Maharaja toured the territories of Pak Pattan and Multan, on his return from the hilly areas. He left Lahore in March 1816. The **Sajjaada Nasheen**, Diwan Sheikh

* Mc. Gregor, Vol. 1, page. 176.

* Mc. Gregor gives the figure of fifty thousand rupees, vol. I. page. 175.

Mohammad Yar of Pak Pattan, advanced some distance to receive the Maharaja, offered him due tributes and promised to pay him a revenue of nine thousand rupees in future. As The Sikh forces proceeded further, Sooba Rai and Kishan Das, he envoys of Bahawalpur, advanced to receive him. They offered eighty thousand rupees at the time and agreed to pay a tribute worth seventy thousand rupees a year for the future.

The Maharaja encamped now at Tumabha, where he reached by way of Harappa. Mohsan Shah, the envoy of Nawab Mazaffar Khan of Multan, approached the Maharaja at that place and offered presents to the later on behalf of his Nawab. The Maharaja demanded the over-due sum of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees. It was, however, clear, from the report of the envoy, that the **Nawab** wanted to pay no more than forty thousand rupees.

The Maharaja rejected the proposal. He ordered Akali Phoola Singh and Misar Diwan Chand to advance against Multan. The Sikh army occupied Ahmedabad and advanced ahead and laid siege to Multan. The Maharaja, too, crossed the river Chenab at the Trimoon Ghat and set up his camp at Salearwan. Akali Phoola Singh occupied Multan after a brief fight. Muzaffar Khan came to terms and paid up eighty thousand rupees on the spot and promised to pay the balance within a couple of months.*

The Maharaja left Multan and turned towards Mankeyra. Nawab Mohammad Khan of that place had died and was succeeded by Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan. His territory included several forts, such as Mankeyra, Khangarh, Mahmoodkot, Mohammadpur, Lahya, Bhakkar and some others. He sent his envoys to the Maharaja as soon as the Sikhs forces stepped into his territory. The Maharaja calculated the amount of arrears against the **Nawab** and asked for the payment of one lakh and twenty thousands of rupees. But the **Nawab** had no mind to pay more than twenty thousand rupees.

Accordingly, the Sikh forces besieged the forts of Mahmodkot, Khangarh and Mohammadpur and started bombarding them. When he was thus cornered, the **Nawab** of-

* Latif, page. 407.

† Latif, page. 408; Kohli, page. 198.

ferred to pay fifty thousand rupees down and admitted the paramountcy of the Maharaja for the future.†

Ahmad Khan Syal, the ruler of Jhang, had not paid the tribute money in for some years past. Consequently, Ahmad Khan and his Diwan, Jawaya Ram, were captured and imprisoned in Lahore. The Maharaja, further, occupied the entire territory of Jhang and made it a part of the Sikh Raj for the future. Sukh Dyal was appointed the Governor and Sujaan Rai the **Diwan**. At the same time, Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia conquered the territories of Ucch and Kot Maharaja. The Sayyads of Ucch were given a largess for their living. Rajab Ali Khan, the ruler of Kot Maharaja, was taken to Lahore and placed behind the bars for some time. The Maharaja returned to Lahore, on the May, 20 1816, after he had executed successfully all these tasks.*

The Maharaja had hardly settled down to do his normal routine in Lahore, when Abdus-Samad Khan, the ruler of Panah, reached Lahore along with Diwan Ram Dyal, and sought protection of the Sikh **Darbar**. He complained that Nawab Muzafar Khan of Multan was harassing him ceaselessly in his own territory. The Maharaja received him with due honours and lodged him in the Mubarak Mansion.

Another report was received just at that time, to the effect that Minister Fateh Khan of Kabul had defeated his brother, Mohammad Azeem Khan, and had occupied Kashmir.†

The Maharaja had presented the former territory of the Naqayi Misal to Prince Kharak Singh in largess. Bhai Ram Singh had been appointed the Manager of the territory. He did not succeed in running the affairs of the **Jagir** properly. The people were dissatisfied with his administration. Moreover, he was guilty of several other faults. The Maharaja arrested Bhai Ram Singh and confiscated all the moneys, amounting to four or five lakhs of rupees, which he had come by through foul means. **Diwan** Bhawani Das of Peshawar was appointed the manager in place of the Bhai.♦

* Latif, page. 408.

† Mc. Gregor, page. 176. Latif, page. 408.

♦ Latif, pages. 408-409.

The Maharaja organized a large assembly of his people in the open space behind the business street, called the Anaarkali, during the Nurata festival days, in October, 1816, where the crown prince, Kharak Singh, was declared the heir-apparent to the throne and the requisite saffran coloured mark was put on the forehead of the young prince. A general proclamation was issued, all over the country, saying that Prince Kharak Singh was to be the sole occupant of the throne of the Lion of the Panjab after him. Presents were offered to the crown prince by the fief-holders and the gentry of the kingdom. Moreover, the Prince was appointed the proper authority for issuing royal proclamations.

CHAPTER-13
MULTAN MAULED

The Maharaja left Lahore after the Dusehra festival on a tour of the mountainous states. He paid his respects at the Golden Temple Amritsar, where he issued orders for the supply of the river water for it from the Madhopur Canal. When he reached Deena Nagar, the agent of the Chamba State arrived there and offered a tribute of forty thousand rupees to the Maharaja. He, now, marched to Kangra by way of Nurpur. The hill chiefs called upon him there and paid up their tribute moneys to him. Raja Ishwari Sen of Mandi paid sixty-five thousand rupees in tribute and thirty thousand as a present. The Raja of Suket paid ten thousand rupees. At Kulu the Maharaja installed on the throne, Raja Thakur Das, the son of Raja Bikram Das, the late ruler. The new ruler presented to the Maharaja one lakh of rupees in tribute. He realized the presentation money from the Raja of Jasrota and proceeded further to Nadaun. Raja Sansar Chand kept him company there. The Maharaja returned to Lahore.

The Maharaja halted at Wanikey on the way, for a few days for hunting. But he was taken ill there and hastened back to Lahore. The disease worsened in spite of the best his doctors could do, and posed danger to the Maharaja's life. Sardar Nihal Singh of Atari felt shocked by this imminent danger to the life of the Maharaja and driven by a sense of, irreparable loss to the Sikh nation which he desperately held dear, he resolved to lay down his life in order to save that of his Maharaja. He stood by the bed of the Maharaja and prayed God: "My True Lord, grant the remaining span of my years on this earth to the Maharaja and let me take upon myself this illness of His Majesty from now on."

To follow up this prayers that arose from the bottom of his sincere heart, he went round the bed of the Maharaja

three times and turned back home to Atari at once. Great God alone knows how He works His Will; yet, it was a fact that the Maharaja started recovering from that moment, and the Sardar of Atari began feeling ill; he remained bed-ridden for several months and died in January, 1818.* The Maharaja appointed Sardar Sham Singh, the son of Sardar Nihal Singh, as the successor of his father.

The Maharaja deputed Diwan Bhawani Das at the head of an army, to go to Multan and realise the overdue tribute from its ruler in January, 1817. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, its ruler, was not easily agreeable to make the payment. The Sikh forces besieged the town and began bombarding it. The operation was slow, however. This further emboldened the **Nawab**. The ineffectual fighting was a result of the negligence of Diwan Bhawani Das. Diwan Amar Nath has, in his book "**Zafarnama Ranjeet Singh**", gone so far as to assert that Diwan Bhawani Das was bribed by Muzaffar Khan to the tune of ten thousand rupees in order to cast a slur upon the good name of the Lahore forces.† As the Maharaja noticed this slackness of the Commander, he recalled **Diwan Bhawani Das** to Lahore, fined him ten thousand rupees and threw him into the prison.♦

It was an open secret that **Jamadar Khushal Singh** had so much pleased the Maharaja as to win for himself the post of the Chamberlain or the **Sardar** of the Deorhi. As time passed, he became negligent in the performance of his duty. Thus, the Maharaja removed **Jamadar Khushal Singh** from his post and appointed Dhyani Singh Dogra to it in 1817.** Khushal Singh was fined fifty thousand rupees for his lapses.†† The Maharaja, however, remitted that fine after some time in view of the many past and brave services of Khushal Singh. Ram Lal, a brother of Khushal Singh, received Sikh baptism and was renamed Ram Singh. The Maharaja appointed him the Commander of the battalion of Chet Singh. A nephew of

* **Sham Singh Atariwala**, by Dr Ganda Singh, pages. 27-28.

† Quoted by Kohli, p. 207.

♦ Latif, page. 410.

** Mc. Gregor, Vol. 1, page. 179.

†† Latif, page. 414.

Khushal Singh, Tej Ram by name, too became a Sikh and was called Tej Singh. He was promoted to be the General of the forces of Prince Kharak Singh.

The Maharaja released Bhai Ram Singh, the former Manager of the largesses of Prince Kharak Singh, on August 27, 1817, awarded him a robe of honour and appointed him the custodian of the territory of the Ramgarhia Misal.♦

Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Hazara, stopped paying his tribute to the Lahore Darbar. Moreover he started making pin-pricks to Sardar Hukam Singh Chimney, the Sikh Governor of Attock. The Maharaja despatched Sikh armies from Lahore, under the command of Prince Sher Singh and Akali Phoola Singh. A very hotly contested battle was fought, in which Mohammad Khan lost his life. His son, Sayyed Ahmad Khan, agreed to pay an increased tribute of seventy-five thousand rupees in place of the former amount of only five thousand. The Sikh army installed him on the throne of his father, after which it returned to Lahore, in 1817.

The Maharaja desired to occupy the entire territory of the province of Multan, but he wanted to clear the hurdles in the way first. He ordered Misar Diwan Chand, Sardar Dall Singh and Sardar Jawand Singh Mokhal to march upon and conquer Mittha Tiwana. Ahemad Yaar Khan, the Commander of Mittha Tiwana, defied the Lahore army from within his fort of Noorpur. The invaders besieged the fort. Ahemad Yaar Khan knew that he was not strong enough to withstand the siege. He, therefore, slipped from the fort and joined the **Nawab** of Mankeyra for safety's sake. The Sikh army gained possession of the entire territory of Mittha Tiwana. Sardar Jawand Singh was appointed the Governor of the fort of Nurpur.

When this arrangement was completed, the Sikh army approached Mankeyra. The **Nawab** of that place agreed to make a new treaty with the Sikh Government by paying a yearly tribute of eighty thousands of rupees. He also promised to render military help to it in the battle for the occupation of Multan.* Ahemad Yaar Khan was, therefore, awarded a largess of ten thousand rupees.

♦ Kohli, page. 206.

* Latif, page. 410.

The fate of Multan had not been decided either way. The Maharaja was nursing in his mind the failure of Bhawani Das's venture. He was now determined to conquer Multan for good. He had finalised all preparations for that purpose before the end of the year 1817. He had collected all the available boats at the crossing points of the Ravi, Chenab and Jehlem rivers up to Multan for carrying all the necessary war material there. He had amassed food and war material that should more than suffice for his proposed campaign.

He despatched Prince Kharak Singh at the head of to Multan at the start of the year, 1818. Missar Diwan Chand was appointed his Lieutenant General. Most of the tried generals of the army were also sent with them there. No sooner did the army reach the territory of Multan than its Commander asked the **Nawab** for payment of the tribute.

The **Nawab**, of course, had no mind to pay the money to the Lahore Darbar. On the contrary, he was determined and prepared to fight to finish. In addition to his standing army, he had amassed at least twenty thousand **Ghazis** as his additional militia. He was, thus, very rude in his reply that he made to the Lahore envoys. The Sikh army besieged the fort and began to bombard it.

This treatment had enraged the Sikh Army. Its Generals attacked and occupied the forts of Khangarh and Muzaffargarh without much fighting. The Sikh forces, next advanced against Multan and were opposed by the army of **Nawab** Muzaffar Khan. A very bloody battle was fought all through the day between the two. Hundreds of brave fighters lost their lives on either side. The Ghazis, however, lost their foothold as the evening fell. They retreated from the open field into the city.

The Sikh army advanced and besieged the town. Heavy firing continued from both sides. The Sikh gunners broke the city wall at several points. They also shattered the wall at several places by dynamiting its foundation. They staged a fierce attack in February and occupied the city. **Nawab**

Muzaffar Khan retreated into the fort after losing thousands of his Ghazis in the battle.

This fort of Multan had the reputation of being one of the best defended forts of the country. The people at the time thought it to be really impregnable. This confidence in its invincibility prompted Muzaffar Khan to occupy the fort, along with his picked forces and defy the invaders. The Sikh army besieged the fort and began to bombard. The **Nawab** fought with confidence and courage. The Sikh guns continued hurling hell into the fort throughout the months of March and April, but to no effect.

The Maharaja, now despatched the Bhangi Gun from Lahore, under the charge of Akali Sadhu Singh. When the Akali squad reached Multan, the Sikh army picked renewed courage and violently cannonaded the fort. Such a firing terrorised Muzaffar Khan, who sent his envoys to Prince Kharak Singh for negotiating peace, offering to vacate the forts of Multan and Muzafargarh, provided he was allowed to retain the forts of Khangarh and Shujahabad. In addition, he was willing to pay the Sikh Government a tribute of two lakh of rupees. The Prince accepted this offer with the previous sanction of the Maharaja.

When the Lahore envoys were let inside the fort to confirm the terms of the proposed treaty in writing, they found that his Muslim fanatical advisers had forced the **Nawab** to go back on his word. This development infuriated the Sikh army, so that it was now determined, once for all, to conquer the fort that very day June 1818. The Sikh guns worked havoc with the walls of the fort.

Ghulam Zeelani, the author of, **The Battle of Multan**, was prompted to write about the fighting of that day when he saw a remarkable feat of sacrifice: "A Sikh gun had one of its wheels broken during the heavy firing. The Sikhs resolved one by one to support it on their shoulders and let it be fired. The first man to offer his shoulder for support was the commander of that company himself. The gun was fired, blowing off his body to bits. The Sikh next in command had taken his turn then in shouldering the gun-side. About a dozen sikhs

had thus made this supreme sacrificial offering the same way there."*

This unparalleled, though ghastly, sacrifice had gained the Sikhs the control of the fort of Multan. The Akali squad stormed the Khizari gate of the fort with their Bhangi Gun. The fourth ball from that gun shot the target and crumbled a part of the wall of the fort down to earth. Akali Sadhu Singh† shouted the Sikh slogan and rushed inside the fort. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The warriors had set their hearts upon deciding the fate of the encounter by the use of the sword. Heaps of dead bodies arose everywhere in the fort. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, his five sons: Shah Niwaz Khan, Mamtaz Khan, Ayaz Khan, Haq Niwaz Khan and Shah Baz Khan, his nephew, Nasar Ullah Khan; adviser Khan Mohammad Khan, Khuda Yar Khan and Sahib Dad Khan fell martyrs during their brave fighting near the tomb of Bahawal Haq. Zulifkar Khan and Sarfraz Khan, two other sons of the Nawab, were made prisoners.

The fort of Multan was occupied by the Sikh armies, on June, 1818, after a devastating battle.** The army men captured wealth worth lakhs of rupees. Material, worth two lakhs was earmarked for the Government of Lahore. The Maharaja later ordered the booty to be deposited in the state treasury, that received a sum of five lakhs of rupees.††

After all the arrangements had been completed, Prince Kharak Singh entered the fort. The fort of Shujahabad, too, was taken over by the Sikh army soon after that. When this pleasing news reached Lahore, the people of Amritsar and Lahore celebrated the victory joyfully for days on end and lights were displayed at nights. The Maharaja visited Amritsar and made offerings at the Golden Temple. Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia was left at Multan in charge of the territory and all

* **Jang-i-Multan**, (Prs.)

† Cunningham, page. 156; Latif, page. 411; Griffin, page. 136; Kohli, page. 214; Ghulam Zeelani, quoted by Ganda Singh, p. 22; **Rausa-i-Panjab**. Vol. I, p. 565.

** Cunningham. p. 156; Griffin. p. 136; Latif, pages. 411-413.

†† Griffin, page. 137.

the other forces returned to Lahore. The Maharaja awarded Missar Diwan Chand the title of Zafar Jang Bahadur. All the Sardars and the Generals were offered prizes. The following commanders were appointed to run the administration of the province of Multan: Babu Baaz Singh, the Governor of the fort of Multan and Sukh Dyal, his **Diwan**, Jamadar Khushal Singh the Governor of Muzzafargarh, Sardar Sham Singh of Atari, the Governor of Khangarh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahuwalia, the ruler of Tolanbha.♦

Sarfraz Khan and Zulifkar Khan, the sons of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, were brought to Lahore as prisoners. The Maharaja received them kindly as was due to their rank. Zulifkar Khan was granted a pension. Sarfraz Khan was, at first, granted a largess in Sharaqpur, which was afterwards changed into a monetary pension.

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was now the sole ruler of the entire Panjab after the occupation of the province of Multan. And the Sikh armies sought for new fields and territories now, in order to make further conquests.

♦ Latif, page. 413.

CHAPTER-14 NORTHAGAIN

The events of the reign of the Lion of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, were deeply affected by the policy of the British on the one hand and the history of Afghanistan on the other. The Afghan country had known no peace since the day when Shah Zamaan had been dethroned. The disturbed conditions prevailing there had provided more than once the opportunity for the Sikh rulers to succeed and prosper in their ambitions.

There was another revolution engineered and brought on in Kabul in 1818. Shah Mahmood, the King of Afghanistan, was led by the nose by his Minister, Fateh Khan. Kamran, the son of Shah Mahmood, did not like this position. He arrested Fateh Khan, damaged his eyes with hot iron needles and, then, had him killed. The kinsmen of Fateh Khan, the Barakzais, were influential people. Fateh Khan had fifty brothers, most of whom were Generals and Governors of the provinces. They organized a rebellion throughout the country.

Mohammad Azeem Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, left the valley in the care of his brother, Jabbaar Khan, and himself marched to and attacked Kabul. Neither Kamran nor Mahmood Shah could beat him back. They fled to Hirat. Mohammad Azeem Khan occupied Peshawar, Kabul, Qandhar and Ghazni. He placed Ayub Shah, the son of Shah Taimur, on the throne of Kabul and set himself up as his Minister.

As soon as the Maharaja knew of this state of affairs, he advanced towards Attock in October, 1818. He marched by way of Rohtas and Rawalpindi and encamped in the plain of Hazro. He despatched a small squad of his army to investigate conditions of the area across the river Attock. When the squad reached the hills of Khairabad, it was attacked by Feroze Khan Khatak in which a man was slaughtered. Khatak

had got the wind of the advancing Sikh army and he had in wait to destroy the enemy, with a force of seven thousand men.

The Maharaja heard the news of this tragic happening and was moved to rage and revenge. He ordered his army to advance, but it was met by the swollen, rocky river Attock. The boatmen there told him that it was not possible to cross it soon and that the Maharaja must stop there and wait for some time at the bank of the river.

"Attock is no attock (barrier) for me!" the Maharaja thundered. "It may well be so for those who possess wavering minds. Those who shall not be stopped, recognize no power on earth as an obstacle in their way. The Khalsa of the Guru must remove all obstacles and march ahead."

At these words the Maharaja shouted his slogan of **Sat Sri Akal**.^{*} The entire Sikh army echoed and took up the slogan in its true spirit. The Maharaja shouted his religious war cry of victory[†] and dashed his combat elephant into the tempestuous stream of the Attock river and he was instantly followed by his **Sardars** who urged their elephants and steeds into the gushing waters.

It is said that the Maharaja made his elephant stand square in mid-stream, so that the entire Sikh army should cross the river before the Lion of the Panjab did so. When the entire army had crossed the river and had further reached Jahangira, they saw the huge mass of the Khataks ahead of them. A closely contested and sanguine battle was fought in which the **Pathans** were badly mauled. Feroze Khan Khatak submitted to the Sikh suzerainty and paid the Maharaja a tribute. The Maharaja forgave him for his foolhardiness. The Sikhs took possession of the forts of Jahangira and Khairabad.

As news of this battle reached Peshawar, Dost Mohammad Khan fled the city for fear of the Sikhs and reached Hashtnagar. The Sikh armies entered Peshawar, that now stood unprotected, on November 20, 1818. The Maharaja lost no time, when in Peshawar, in proclaiming that no

^{*} True is the Holy, Immortal God.

[†] **Vahiguru Ji ke Fateh.**

state official or brigand was to lay hands on the property of the citizens and that no one was allowed to disturb public peace. They were asked to continue to live as usual, following their professions and trades in peace.

This proclamation restored peace and confidence among the citizens and was welcomed by them. The leaders of the people welcomed the Maharaja and offered him a tribute of twenty-five thousand rupees that they had collected from amongst themselves. The Maharaja stayed at Peshawar for three days. He appointed Jahan Dad Khan, from whom he had wrested the control of the fort of Attock, as the Governor of Peshawar and himself returned to Attock. The Sikhs came into possession of fourteen guns from Peshawar.

The Maharaja was still in Attock when Dost Mohammad Khan, with the help of his brother, Yaar Mohammad Khan, regained possession of Peshawar. Jahan Dad Khan came to the Maharaja at Attock. Though he controlled Peshawar now, Dost Mohammad Khan knew that he could not retain the city by force, when the Maharaja returned there to oust him. He, therefore, sent his envoys, Diwan Damodar Mall and Hafiz Ruh-ulla Khan, to the Maharaja. They paid fifty thousand rupees in cash to him as tribute money and offered him some horse-loads of fruit as presents. They, however, prayed to him to make over the province of Peshawar to Dost Mohammad Khan, who was to act as its Governor, on the promise of the latter to pay the Lahore Government one lakh of rupees yearly in tribute, and to obey all orders received from Lahore in future. The Maharaja accepted these terms and was back in Lahore in December.*

There was a near possibility of the Lahore Government being embroiled in a dispute with the British, though the situation was saved early from worsening. The territory of the Raja of Kahlur lay on both sides of the river Satlej. His capital town, Bilaspur, was situated to the left of the river. He, therefore, considered himself to be under the protection of

* Cunningham, pages. 157-58; Latif, pages. 415-16.

Mc. Gregor, page. 183.

the British, like so many other princes. Yet he had the larger part of his territory lying on the right-hand side of that river. Sardar Desa Singh of Majeetha was the Governor of that territory, under the Sikh Government of Lahore. He approached the territory of Kahlur in the course of his tour while collecting revenue from the states' chiefs, which the Chief of Kahlur refused to pay. Sardar Desa Singh took possession of the forts of Pichrota and Makaalgarrh.

The Chief of Kahlur hastened to seek protection under the British. Desa Singh, now, took possession of all the Kahlur territory on his side of the Satlej. The Chief of Kahlur had helped the Gorkhas on a previous occasion against the Chief of Katoch. It was for the reason of avenging himself on the chief of Kahlur that Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch had joined forces with Sardar Desa Singh and crossed the river Satlej. The British force also prepared itself to oppose the intruders.

When the Maharaja learnt of this episode, he called his force back. The Maharaja deputed his envoy to go and meet the British Agent, who cleared up the whole of this mess.† The Raja of Bilaspur paid a tribute of twenty-four thousand rupees to Sardar Desa Singh for the former's territory on the Lahore side of the river. The Sikh force then vacated that area.♦

When Mohammad Azeem Khan had marched to occupy Kabul, he had appointed his brother, Jabbar Khan, as the Governor of Kashmir in his own place. Jabbar proved to be grossly tyrannical and fanatical. His revenue minister, Pandit Birdhar, was driven out of the valley on account of harassment, practised by Jabbar. He came to Lahore, where the Lion of th Panjab treated him with high regards.* He, too, rendered great service to the Sikh Darbar during its conquest of Kashmir.

It had, now, been finally decided by the Maharaja to capture Kashmir. A large army was collected at Wazirabad. Sultan Khan, the former ruler of Bhimber, had been a pris-

† Cunningham, page. 158.

♦ Latif, page. 417.

* Kohli, page. 225.

oner in Lahore for the previous seven years. The Maharaja set him free now, offered him a robe of honour and re-appointed him the Raja of Bhimber. He accompanied Missar Diwan Chand during the projected campaign of Kashmir.

Sultan Khan proved of great service to the Sikh army during its conquest of Kashmir. The army at Wazirabad was divided into three sections: the first section was commanded by Prince Kharak Singh; the second one had Missar Diwan Chand and Sardar Sham Singh of Atari as its commanders; and the third section was headed by Maharaja himself. Prince Kharak Singh was made the over all Commander of the campaign. The armies, commanded by the Prince and the **Diwan**, were ordered to advance from Wazirabad, in May 1819. The Maharaja himself stayed behind, so that he was in a position to despatch reinforcement to either of the other two sections in case of need.

The first two armies reached Rajauri by way of Bhimber, whose ruler, Raja Aghar Khan, had deceived the Lahore armies during the previous campaign. The Prince and the **Diwan**, therefore, besieged Rajauri now. Feeling that he was not able to resist the invaders, Aghar Khan slipped from the place under cover of night. His brother, Rahim-Ullah, presented himself humbly to the commanders of the Sikh armies on the following day at their camp.† Prince Kharak Singh received him with due regards and sent him to the Maharaja, who extended to him full courtesy and rewarded him with the gift of an elephant, a steed and a precious robe of honour. Moreover, he appointed him the Raja of Rajauri and ordered him to proceed to Kashmir with the Sikh armies. The Maharaja, too, reached Bhimber, immediately in the wake of the army.

The two armies left Rajauri in the month of June and marched ahead. Prince Kharak Singh stopped at Behiram Gala which he reached by way of Poshana. The Governor of the fort of Supeen, Mohammad Ali, consented to be a feudatory of the Lahore Government, and to take orders from the Prince:

† Kohli, page. 227, with reference to Sohan Lal and Amar Nath.

he had been persuaded by Sultan Khan to do so. Zabardast Khan, the Raja of Punchh, had waited in readiness to give battle to the invaders. The Prince on advice from Sultan Khan, took the zigzag path of the hills instead of marching along the direct open route and attacked Zabardast Khan's position, who, after a little fighting, admitted defeat and gave up opposition.

The ruler of Busana too, submitted to the Sikh army on advice from Rahim-Ullah. The Maharaja too advanced to Shahabad via Rajauri. He despatched another army of ten-thousand men in aid of his forward troops. The first two forward armies and the new third one joined at the point where the ascent of the Peer Panchal mountain starts.

The Pathans attacked the Sikh forces there. It was a tough and pitched battle. The **Pathans** were beaten in it and they fled the field. The Sikhs now controlled all the roads of Peer Panchal Hills and reached Sarai Aliabad, on the other side of the Peer Panchal hills.

They next met the army of Governor Jabbaar Khan who had taken his position across the road at the head of a Pathan army, twelve-thousand strong, and barred the way to Srinagar. The Sikhs had a day's rest and then advanced to attack Governor Jabbaar Khan, on July 3, 1819. The **Pathans** began their assault furiously and took into their possession two guns of the Sikh army. But, when the squad of Akaali Phoola Singh thundered their war slogan and attacked the **Pathans**, the latter lost heart and ran from the field, leaving everything behind them. The Sikhs had not only regained possession of their two guns that had been lost just a while back, but they took hold of all the war material of Jabbar Khan and plundered his camp, too. Jabbar Khan himself was wounded in the fighting and two of his generals, Mehar Deen Khan and Mir Samad Khan, were killed. Jabbaar Khan fled the field and managed to slip out of the Kashmir Valley across the Bhimbar hills and reached Afghanistan, along the Peshawar road.

A Sikh platoon moved forward and took possession of the fort of Shergarh.

381) The Sikh armies playing their martial tunes entered Srinagar the following day, 4th July. Prince Khaark Singh permitted no disturbances in Srinagar. He lost no time in making a public proclamation to the effect throughout the town.* The conquests of Peshawar and Kashmir had made the Pathans feel and look small in their own territories. The progeny of the Pathans who had accompanied Babar and Nadir Shah and had plundered wherever they had roamed in India in their time, now trembled with fear when face to face with the brave Sikhs in a confrontation.

The Maharaja returned to Lahore. His first step was to go to Amritsar to pay his homage at the Golden Temple where he offered a large sum of money to augment the funds for the service of the faithful there. A feast of lights was arranged for three nights in Amritsar and Lahore and thousands of rupees were spent for feeding and clothing the poor people.

The Sikh army, before it returned to Lahore, had made fool-proof arrangements for holding possession of the Kashmir territory. The fort of Azeemgarh stood at the top of a high hill, near Rajauri. The Sikhs took it under their control.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Sardar Dall Singh had taken possession of the fort of Devband from Paindey Kahn. Diwan Ram Dyal had been appointed to take charge of Bhimbar and Bhai Ram Singh that of Thanna, Sardar Sham Singh of Ataari and Jawala Singh of Bharaana were posted at Barahmulla, along with a military force that was placed under them.

Diwan Moti Ram, the son of Mohkam Chand, was appointed the first Governor of Kashmir. Faqir Aziz-ud-Din was deputed to write a correct report of Kashmir. Pandit Beerdhar was appointed to collect a yearly revenue of fifty-three lakhs of rupees on contract basis in Kashmir. Jaawahar Mall was appointed the contractor, in return for a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees to be collected from the shawl industry of Kashmir.

* Latif, page. 417-18; Cunningham, pages. 158-59; Mc, Gregor, pages. 184-85; Griffin, page. 143. Kohli, pages. 226-230; Sohan Lal, Amar Nath, Ganda Singh, page. 24.

The Sikh armies made a stringent arrangement for the control of the territories of Punch and Rajuri, while they were on their way back to Lahore. Zabardast Khan, the Raja of Punchh, deputed his son to live at Lahore, as his father's guarantee for good faith and agreed to abide by the terms made with the Lahore Sarkar. When the victorious Sikh armies had completed all these arrangements and returned to Lahore, the Maharaja offered prizes and gifts to the soldiers and their **Sardars** very liberally. Misar Dewan Chand was awarded a largess worth fifty thousands of rupees.

CHAPTER-15
FURTHER NORTH

In 1819 A.D. Multana Singh was born to Rani Rattan Kaur and Kashmira Singh to Rani Dya Kaur at Sialkot. When meassages of greetings on the occasion reached Lahore, suitable festivities were organized there. The two baby princes were given these names in memory of the victories of Multan and Kashmir respectively. A largess of fifty thousand rupees a year was awarded to either prince.

The festival of the Dusehra was celebrated in Lahore with great pomp and show. When the Maharaja was free from the festive ceremonies of the occasion, he started on a tour of the Multan territory in October 1819. He visited Kot Hussain, Pindi Bhatian and Chiniot and reached Multan. He had punished on his way the disobedient **Sardars**, who had failed to pay the tributes which he realised now. The common people of Multan complained bitterly to the Mahraja against the Governor, Sardar Sham Singh of Peshawar. He had also failed to deposit the assessed amount of revenue into the royal treasury. That was a proof of his misappropriation of the Government monies for his own benefit. Accordingly, the Maharaja had put him behind the bars. Diwan Sawan Mall, the son of Hushnaak Rai Chopra, a Khatri of Akalgarh, was appointed the ruler of Multan in place of Sham Singh.*

Shah Shuja had, a little earlier, advanced along the banks of the river Indus and attacked Peshawar. But he was beaten back by Dost Mohammad Khan. Zamaan Khan, the ruler of Dehra Ghazi Khan, had helped Shah Shuja while the latter was on his way to Peshawar and had turned back from there. The Maharaja had deputed Jamadar Khushal Singh along with an army from Multan in order to punish Zmaan Khan for his treachery. Sardar Khushal Singh threw him out of Dehra Ghazi Khan and occupied that town. The Lion of the

* Mc Gregor, page. 187; Latif, page. 419.

Panjab leased out this territory to the Nawab of Bahawalpur for three lakhs of rupees yearly. He also realised the outstanding amount of the tribute from Hafiz Ahimad Khan of Maankerya when on his way back to Lahore.† The Hafiz presented to the Maharaja his famous steed, known as Safaid Pari or white Fairy. The Maharaja was back in Lahore on April 20, 1820.♦

The well-known traveller Moorcraft reached Lahore, in 1820. The Maharaja treated him hospitably. Apa Sahib, a Maratha Chief, had escaped from the jail of the British Government and reached Amritsar. He requested the Maharaja for help against the British, which the Maharaja refused to render him. From Amritsar the Maharaja proceeded to Batala.

The Maharaja moved to Sialkot next. He inspected the Sikh army there. He detached a company of the army to Kishtwar and Mankot and occupied both these places. He left Sialkot in October and after cross the river Chenab, he ordered a part of his army to attack and punish the mutineers of Dewa Batala. The army occupied the fort of Dewa Bataala and set fire to several villages of the rebels. He advanced to Rawalpindi from there, where he dismissed Nand Singh, the Commander of the fort, as he was wanting in loyalty to the Lahore Government. The Maharaja was back in Lahore on December 13, 1820.

News was received from the territory of Hazara that the Pathans had risen in revolt in several places, like Pukhli, Dhamtor, Tarbeyla and other towns. The mutineers had killed its Commander, Makhani Singh. The Maharaja ordered Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Rani Sada Kaur, Sardar Sham Singh Attari, Sardar Ganda Singh the Tall, Diwan Ram Dayal and the Gun battery of Ilaahi Bakhsh to proceed under the command of Prince Sher Singh for suppression of the mutineers. These Commanders spread out their forces all over that territory as soon as they reached there. They clashed with the **Pathans** at all places. The **Pathan** mutineers were killed thousands during the campaign. The Sikhs re-established their control over the entire territory.

† Mc. Gregor, page. 187 mentions the amount of this tribute as one lakh and eighty thousand.

♦ Latif, page. 419.

The ruler of Tarbeyla, Sar Buland Khan and Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Gul-Dheri, offered tribute and submitted to the officers of the Sikh Maharaja.

Nevertheless, all this success had cost the Lahore Government dearly. The promising General of the Sikh army, Diwan Ram Dayal, only twenty-eight years old, lost his life in the battle of Gand Garh.* He was the son of Moti Ram and the grand-son of Diwan Mohkam Chand. The Maharaja as well as the entire Sikh army deeply felt the loss of his life, which happened in 1821.

Moti Ram, the father of Ram Dayal, was the Governor of Kashmir at the time. The shock of this news paralysed him and he resigned his governorship. The Maharaja recalled him to Lahore and appointed Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa to that post. The Maharaja granted Moti Ram leave for a year's rest instead of accepting his resignation. He spent this one year in Benares and was reappointed the Governor of Kashmir on his return.

Rani Chand Kaur, the wife of Prince Kharak Singh, gave birth to a son, Prince Naunihal Singh on March 9, 1821. The Maharaja liberally offered alms to the needy on this auspicious occasion.

Rani Sada Kaur, the widow of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Kanhya, deserves mention of some distinction in Sikh history. It was on her proposal that Ranjeet Singh was married to her daughter, Mehtab Kaur. She held the sole authority in her **Misal** after the death of Sardar Jai Singh Kanhya. Cunningham wrote of her : "Sada Kaur, the mother of the girl, possessed a high spirit and was ambitious of power, and on the death of the Kanhya leader, Jai Singh, about 1793,** her influence in the affairs of the confederacy became paramount. The support of Sada Kaur was of great use to Ranjeet Singh in the beginning of his career, and the co-operation of the Kanhya **Misal** mainly enabled him to master Lahore and Amritsar. Her hope seems to have been that, as the grandmother of the chosen heir of Ranjeet Singh, and as the

* Latif, page. 420; Kohli, page. 236; Mc. Gregor, page. 187.

**Sardar Jai Singh died in 1798 and not in 1793.

Chieftainess in her own right, she would be able to exercise a commanding influence in the affairs of the Sikhs."†

But her opportunity went amiss and her hopes were soon belied. The first-born son, Kharak Singh, had been born to Rani Naqayan in 1802. The daughter of Rani Sada Kaur had her so-called first born twins, Sher Singh and Tara Singh, in 1807. Believing that the Maharaja was not likely to over-ride the right of Kharak Singh, his first son, "Sada Kaur perceived that she could obtain no power in the names of the children and the disappointed woman addressed the English authorities in 1810, and denounced her son-in-law as having usurped her rights and as resolved on war with his new allies."♦

This correspondence had created suspicion in the minds of the British. But before matters could worsen, the position was cleared between the two neighbouring Governments with the help of the Maharaja.

The Maharaja summoned a general assembly in 1816 at Lahore, in which Prince Kharak Singh was proclaimed to be the crown prince, and Ranjeet Singh performed the ceremony of making the saffron mark on the forehead of the Prince. Sada Kaur was, however, full of resentment at this.

Once again, in 1821, she resorted to certain activities, that annoyed the Maharaja and led to an open rift between the two. The Maharaja, now, thought of restricting her objectionable acts. He called her to Lahore and told her to transfer a reasonable part of her estate to her two grand-children for their support. She took this suggestion as an insult and threatened the Maharaja, declaring that in the case she would shift to the British territory across the Satlej for protection. The Maharaja lodged her in a prison-house and forced her to make the proposed grant of her property in favour of Princes, Sher Singh and Tara Singh, in writing.

Sada Kaur succeeded in escaping from the jail secretly. But she was again captured, brought back to Lahore and thrown behind the bars once again. This was not yet the end of her mis-adventure. Her correspondence resulted in a declaration, made by the British agent in Lahore, declaring that

† Cunningham, page. 175.

♦ Cunningham, page. 175.

in "the lady, Sada Kaur, was regarded by the English Agent as being the independent representative of the interests of the Kanhyas confederacy of the Sikhs on their side of the river, and, therefore, as having a right to their protection."*

The Maharaja and the British were about to come to a clash over the question of the possession of the territory of Wadhni. But the situation was saved by the intervention of the British authorities in Delhi through a letter, assuring Lahore of their friendly intentions and of ending the matter then and there. It was due to such reasons that Rani Sada Kaur had to pass the remaining time of her life in the prison-house. The whole of her territory was confiscated by the Maharaja, with the exception of Batala that was made over to Prince Sher Singh in laggess.

It had been customary with the Lion of the Panjab to deliver back the territory that he had conquered from the Muslim **Nawabs** and rulers, in return for a fixed sum as a tribute. But this policy of his had changed by now. The territories of Multan and Kashmir that he had conquered in 1818 and 1819 respectively, had been taken over by him in his direct administrative control.

In 1821, he advanced, at the head of his armies, to conquer the territory of the **Nawab** of Mankeyra. The Maharaja reached Mittha Tiwana where his army stationed in a camp. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa joined him there. By the time they approached Khushab, Missar Diwan Chand and Kirpa Ram, too, had turned up there.

Their forces besieged the fort of Bhakkar as soon as they reached there. The Commanders appointed by the **Nawab** of Mankeyra to defend that fort fled from there without exchanging a shot. The Sikh force took possession of the fort. Sardar Dall Singh and Jamadar Khushal Singh marched upon Dehra Ismael Khan, conquered it and arrested its ruler, Manak Rai. The other units of the Sikh army established their control on the forts of Khangarh, Lehia, and Panjgarh. All these forts had been in the control of Hafiz Ahmad Khan, the Nawab of Mankeyra formerly.

Once the neighbouring defences had fallen to the Sikh forces, they proceeded to besiege the capital of the **Nawab**,

* Cunningham, pages. 160.

the fort of Mankeyra. The **Nawab** had strengthened the defences of the fort immensely. This fort was surrounded by sand dunes on all sides. Sikhs felt keenly the scarcity of water for their use. The Maharaja had twenty wells dug in that neighbourhood and put them in a working order.

The **Nawab** resisted the attack for a fortnight. But when he lost all hope of a victory, he stopped resisting the invaders and raised the white flag and sued for peace. The Maharaja received him with due respect. He awarded a largess to Nawab Hafiz Ahimad Khan in Dehra Ismael Khan, as desired by the latter, and his remaining territory, worth ten Lakhs of rupees, was taken over by the Lahore Government, in January, 1822*. The Maharaja took into possession twenty-two guns and a large quantity of other war material. Sardar Ameer Singh Sandhawalia was appointed the Governor of the territory of Maankeyra.

It was at this time that the Balauch Sardars of Tonk and Sagar submitted to the Maharaja and paid their tributes to him. The Maharaja reached Dehra Ghazi Khan from Mankeyra. The **Nawab** of Bahawalpur paid the Maharaja a tribute to the amount of five lakhs of rupees and received a certificate of feudatory rights in Dehra Ghazi Khan and Mitthan Kot territories written in his favour. Having made all these arrangements to his own satisfaction, the Maharaja returned to Lahore on January 27, 1822.

The news was received at this time that the landlords of Nara had revolted and killed Sardar Amar Singh of Majeetha. It was also rumoured that Sardar Jai Singh of Atari had a hand in inciting the people to revolt there. The Maharaja deputed Diwan Chand in order to subdue and punish the rebels. Sardar Jai Singh fled to Kabul far fear of punishment and the other rebels were sutibally dealt with.**

Diwan Moti Ram was back from Benares by this time. He was appointed to his old post as the Governor of Kashmir and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa was granted the territories of Pukhli and Dhamtor in larges.†

* Mc. Gregor, page. 190; Latif, pages. 425-26.

** Latif, page. 426.

† Mc. Gregor, page. 190; Latif, page. 427.

CHAPTER-16 TO PESHAWAR

Nepoleon Bonaparte had been defeated in the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Several of his reputed Generals roamed about in other countries in search of employment. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh had by now succeeded in building up for himself a special reputation in the comity of the nations. Ventura and Allard, two of the former Generals of Napoleon, reached Lahore in March, 1822. Ventura, an Italian, was a commander of the footsoldiers and Allard, a Frenchman, of the cavalry units. They secured the good offices of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din to approach the Maharaja and requested him for employment in his armies.

The Maharaja put to them the following terms to which they were asked to agree before their employment could be considered : They were to be strictly forbidden to have their beards shaved, to eat beef, to smoke tobacco and to have anything to do with any European power; and, in case the Maharaja was forced to fight any European power, they were required to remain loyal to the Sikh Government and to fight against its enemies. They accepted these terms of employment. The Maharaja agreed to pay either of them two thousand and five hundred rupees a month. He placed Ventura in charge of the infantry and Allard in charge of the cavalry and ordered them to train the army in the French way.

There were some more Europeans who came to the Panjab, in the wake of the two Generals of the army of Napoleon, who had agreed to observe the terms of service mentioned above and were employed by the Maharaja. These foreigners were not permitted to meddle with the political and the judicial matters of the Kingdom.* It may not be forgotten that the Sikh army was already being trained on European lines before the arrivals of these foreigners.

* Latif, page. 428.

Gulab Singh and Dhyān Singh, the two Dogras, belonged to the royal house of Jammu. They had enlisted themselves in the cavalry of the Maharaja. They improved their ranks in and Dhyān Singh had won promotion to be the Deorhiwala Sardar or the Chamberlain in 1817. The Maharaja awarded the territory of Jammu to their father, Kishore Singh, in largess and appointed him its Raja. But Kishore Singh died in 1822 and the Maharaja appointed Gulab Singh the Raja of Jammu in place of the latter's father.

Pukhli and Dhamtor had been awarded to Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa as his **Jagir**. The Pathans of that territory revolted when Nalwa was away from there. Nalwa, now, swooped upon them like a hawk. Many of the rioters were killed and their hiding places were burnt to ashes. Hari Singh Nalwa returned only after peace had been restored there.

The Maharaja inspected his army Rohtas in October 1823. Every one of the local feudatores was ordered to contribute his fixed quota of the fighting force to the parade. Sardar Dall Singh Naheyrna attended the function personally, but he failed to present his fixed quota of the solders. The Maharaja snubbed him severely at the place of the assemblage and fined him. Shocked at this treatment, he took poison and committed suicide the following night.*

The Maharaja arrived at Rawalpindi in the month of December, at the head of his forces. He deputed Faqir Aziz-ud-Din to go to Peshawar and realize the due amounts of the tributes from there. The Maharaja had made over Peshawar to Dost Mohammad Khan in return for fixed amounts of tributes from the territory, in 1818. Dost Mohammad Khan had passed Peshwar to his brother, Yar Mohammad Khan, on the agreed terms. The Sikh Government, too, had accepted him as the Governor of Peshawar. He respected Faqir-ud-Din greatly and made psresents of superior horses to him. The Maharaja returned to Lahore, in January 1824, with the tributes realized from Peshawar.

* Latif, page. 428.

Mohammad Azim Khan became the Minister in Kabul after the death of Minister Fateh Khan. He was taken to be the leader of the Barakzai tribe. The Sikh Maharaja had thrown his brother, Jabbar Khan, out of the valley of Kashmir and his other brother, Yar Mohammad Khan, had been compelled to become a tributary of the Lahore Kingdom.

Mohammad Azim Khan was determined to avenge himself on the Sikh Maharaja for these outrages. He collected a large army and advanced to attack Peshawar. Yar Mohammad left his post and fled to the Usafzai hills for shelter on the pretext of incapacity to oppose the Afghan army. Mohammad Azim Khan took possession of unfended Peshawar on January 27, 1824. He, moreover, raised the cry of Islam being in danger and had thirty thousands of **Ghazis**, or (religious fanatics), assembled under his banner.

As soon as Maharaja Ranjeet Singh came to know of this development, he hurriedly advanced to the North to control the situation. He at once ordered Prince Sher Singh, Diwan Kirpa Ram, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Sardar Attar Singh, to proceed to Peshawar at the head of the large army. Then he himself immediately rushed to Peshawar. They were followed by Prince Kharak Singh and Misar Diwan Chand in support of the forces already on the march. Immediately after that the Maharaja himself, along with Sardars Desa Singh of Majeetha, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Akali Phoola Singh, Sardars Ameer Singh of Saurian, Rattan Singh of Gharjakh, Doola Singh of Malwa and others, advanced to repel the enemy. The army of Prince Sher Singh put up a bridge of boats across the river Attock, reached the other bank and besieged the fort of Jahangira. The defending **Pathans** retreated from the fort after a brief fight. Prince Sher Singh and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa occupied the fort of Jahaangira.

Mohammad Azim Khan advanced from Peshawar on hearing the news of the fall of the fort. He deputed Dost Mohammad Khan and Jabbar Khan to advance and recon-

quer the fort of Jahangira. They besieged Prince Sher Singh and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa in the fort. There was fierce fighting between the two armies.

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was rushing with his army to the aid of the Prince and Sardar Nalwa. But before the Maharaja reached Attock, Mohammad Zaman Khan had the boat-bridge across the river broken and set afloat down the river. The Maharaja ordered the bridge to be result in place. Before the bridge was, however, completed, he received the news that Prince and Nalwa had been very hard pressed from all sides by the enemies and that, did the reinforcements not reach there in time, the besieged army was likely to suffer heavy losses.

The wrath of the Maharaja was roused to fever heat. He dashed on his steed through the rushing stream and ordered his army to follow suit. At his word, the entire army plunged into the gushing water of the rocky river, where some of his men were washed down stream. The guns were carried on elephant-backs to the opposite bank. As the Pathan besiegers heard of the Maharaja's successful crossing of the river, they lost heart and fled from the field. The Sikh army reached its destination and further strengthened the defence of the forts of Jahangira and Khairabad. The **Pathans** had now assembled at Naushehra and the Sikhs at Akora, ready for a big confrontation.

Sardar Jai Singh of Attari had deserted the Sikh regime and gone over to the Barkzai ruler of Kabul. He had accompanied Mohammad Azim Khan during this campaign. The heads of the Sikhs who had been killed while fighting at Jahangira, had been taken to Peshawar as exhibitss for Mohammad Azim Khan to see. When Jai Singh had a look at them, his deep sentiments of love for Sikhism and the Sikhs were roused. He slipped from the the camp of Azim Khan and rejoined the Sikh army; he obtained the pardon of the

Maharaja through the kind intercession of Akalli Phoola Singh, and was reappointed an officer in the army.

Thousands of **Ghazis** had assembled at the plain of Naushehra. Mohammad Azim Khan, too, had come and encamped at the bank of the river Lundha in order to join the **Ghazis**. The Maharaja deputed Prince Sher Singh, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Generals Ventura and Allard, to take the gun-battery to the river Lundha in order to beat the hordes of Mohammad Azim Khan back. The rest of the Sikh army was ordered to attack the mass of the **Ghazis**.

The fateful battle of Naushehra was now fought on March 14, 1824. The Akalis said their prayer to Lord God and were the first to attack the positions of the **Ghazis**. The other Sardar, also, joined the battle, which raged at its bloodiest the whole day long. The Akali leader, Phoola Singh, who was the chief pillar of the strength of the Sikh army, fell a martyr during this fighting. The Sikhs were wild with rage at this great loss: they rushed like furies at the **Ghazis** and killed thousands of them with their swords in revenge for the loss of the Akali. The **Ghazis** were unable to make a stand before this tempestuous onset. They ran into the hills, leaving all their belongings behind them.

No sooner did Mohammad Azim Khan receive the news of the rout of the Ghazis, than he, also, ran away and found shelter in Michni. The Sikhs pursued the **Ghazis** for several miles. The Sikh army plundered the camp of their enemies. Two thousand Sikhs were killed or wounded, while ten thousand **Ghazis** had lost their lives in this battle.*

This battle left a lasting impression of the Sikh terror on the minds of the Pathans. Mohammad Azim Khan died on his

* Half the number of the **Ghazis** lost their lives in this fighting while Sikh losses, in killed or wounded, were two thousand. Latif, page. 430. Ten thousand **Ghazis** were killed, Mc. Gregor, page. 193.

way to Kabul, from the shock of the debacle. The Sikh army occupied the fort of Hashtnagar and took into their possession the entire territory of the Ghazis.

The Maharaja entered Peshawar on 17th March. He permitted no breach of law in the city, and proclaimed that peace was to be maintained at any cost. The respectable citizens of the town made presents to him. Dost Mohammad Khan and Yar Mohammad Khan turned up there after a few days and begged pardon of the Maharaja. They offered fifty horses, including the famous steed, named Gauhar Bar, and many other valuable presents to him. At the same time, they prayed to the Maharaja to grant to them the territory of Peshawar, promised to carry out loyally all the orders of the Lahore Darbar and to pay to it a yearly revenue of one lakh and ten thousand rupees. The Maharaja accepted these terms and allowed the two brothers to possess the territory as divided into two parts. This arrangement was made to sow the seeds of disunity between the two brothers.

The Maharaja completed these arrangements and was back in Lahore on April 26, 1824.†

† Latif, pages. 428-31; Mc. Gregor, pages. 192-94; Cunningham, page. 161; Ganda Singh, pages. 25-26; Kohli, pages. 245 to 254; Sohan Lal, pages. 204-05; Amar Nath, pages. 154-55.

CHAPTER-17

PANJAB AND PATHAN-LAND

It was customary with the Maharaja to visit Deena Nagar during the months of May and June. He went in camp there in 1824 A.D., too, and realised the tribute moneys from the hill-chiefs. Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch had died in April, 1824. The Maharaja sent for his son, Anroddh Chand, received one lakhs of rupees as tribute from him and installed him on the seat of his father as the new ruler.*

Rama Nand, a gold merchant of Amritsar, was the Controller of the Treasury Department, which was not separated from other branches of the Lahore Government revenues. He died in September, 1824. He had left no children behind him, but the amount of money that he had left behind him, at the time of his death, ran into lakhs of rupees.† The Maharaja paid a certain amount of that fund to his nephew and had a defensive wall raised around the city of Amritsar with the major part of that money.

The Maharaja witnessed the festivities of the Dusehra festival in Lahore and then he went to Dera Ghazi Khan, where he realised an amount of three lakhs of rupees from the unruly landlords of that territory. The agent of the Nawab of Bahawalpur, also, turned up there and deposited a sum of eighty thousand rupees towards payment of the tribute money.**

The Maharaja now returned to Lahore, and had a twenty feet high wall raised around that city for its defence. It had a dozen gates leading to the interior.††

* Mc. Gregor, page. 195; Latif, page. 432.

† Latif, page. 432; (eight lakhs). Kohli; page 255 : (twenty lakhs).

♦ Latif, page. 413.

** Mc. Gregor, page. 194.

†† Ibid. page. 195.

Moti Ram, the son of Diwan Mohkam Chand, was the Governor of Kashmir, and Kirpa Ram, the son of Moti Ram the Governor of the Jullundur-Doab. The territory of Phillaur was owned by this family as their old feudal estate. The Maharaja gifted that largess to Ram Singh. Kirpa Ram considered this step as unfavourable and resorted to delaying tactics in obeying the orders of the Maharaja who did not tolerate this disobedience on the part of Kirpa Ram. He dismissed the son and the father, Kirpa Ram and Moti Ram, from their posts and fined them one lakh and twenty thousand rupees; he also imprisoned Kirpa Ram for some time.♦

The fort of Phillaur was first placed in the charge of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and then was passed on to Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia. First Bhima Singh, and then Gurmukh Singh, was appointed the Governor of Kashmir. Chuni Lal was sent there as the **Diwan** of Gurmukh Singh. It was stipulated that he was to pay twenty-seven lakh and fifty thousand rupees a year as the contract money. But both of these officers failed to govern Kashmir efficiently. The Maharaja forgave the family of Mohkam Chand, after they had been in disgrace for a year, and deputed Kirpa Ram as the Governor of Kashmir.

The Jat Raja of Bharatpur asked the Lion of the Panjab for aid against the British. But the Maharaja declined to help him.†

Miser Diwan Chand died of colic pain on July 19, 1825.* His body was consigned to flames with military honours.

Qadir Bakhsh, the agent of Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, lived in Lahore. He happened to be a mischiefmonger by nature. He was in league with Sher Ali, the **Diwan** of Sardar Ahluwalia, and in his letters he insinuated to the Ahluwalia Sardar that the Maharaja was about to confiscate his territories. Sardar Fateh Singh grew panicky, hurriedly left Kapurthala, along with his family, crossed the river Satlej and

♦ Mc Gregor, page. 196; Latif, page. 432.

† Cunningham, page. 181.

* Cunningham, page. 182.

took refuge at Jagraon in the British territory, which had been already granted to him by the Maharaja. He held more territories in largess in the province of Sirhind also. The British rulers assured Sardar Ahluwalia that protection would be extended to him.†

The Maharaja was surprised to receive this news. He deputed Faqir Aziz-ud-Din to go and take charge of the State of Kapurthala. He also wrote a friendly letter to Sardar Fateh Singh, assuring him of the latter's security and asking him to return to his home without any misgivings. He, next, asked Sodhi Attar Singh to go to Jagraon and assure Ahluwalia of the continued goodwill of the Maharaja.

Sardar Fateh Singh, at last, returned to Lahore in 1827. The Lion of the Panjab deputed Prince Naunihal Singh to go and receive Fateh Singh at some distance from Lahore. As Sardar Fateh Singh arrived in the **Darbar**, he laid his sword and then bowed his head low at the feet of the Maharaja whose eyes were filled with tears for his friendly emotion for the **Sardar**. He helped Fateh Singh rise and seated him by himself on the throne. Far from showing any feeling of resentment, the Maharaja offered him an elephant with a silver howdah, a string of pearls and a silk robe of honour. All his territory, too, was returned to him and Faqir Aziz-ud-Din was asked to accompany him up to Kapurthala.♦

Darveysh Mohammad, the envoy of the **Nizam** of Hyderabad, came to Lahore in 1826. The Nizam had sent as presents to the Maharaja four fine horses, a gun, a sword, some rifles and a matchless canopy. The Lion of the Panjab was overwhelmed to see the glamorous canopy and remarked: "This ordinary person, Ranjeet Singh, does not deserve to sit under this canopy. Its proper place is in the temple of my true and holy Divine Lord."

The canopy was at once taken to the Golden Temple in Amritsar, where it is preserved even now.*

† Ibid, page. 182. It was burnt to ashes during operation Blue Star in 1984.

♦ Ibid, page. 182; Latif, pages. 433-34; Sohan Lal, page. 343; Kohli, pages. 257-59.

* Ganda Singh, pages. 26-27.

It was in the same year that two envoys of Prince Kamraan, arrived in Lahore, with presents. The Maharaja honoured both the envoys and presented to them robes of honour.

The Maharaja went on tour to Una by way of Dina Nagar. He called on Baba Sahib Singh Bedi and made to him an offering of five thousand rupees.† The Maharaja proceeded to Kangra from there. He expressed his desire to take over the fort of Taragarh, but when the Raja presented to him a sum of twenty-five thousand rupees, the Maharaja returned to Lahore.

He despatched Jamadar Khushal Singh and Sardar Lehna Singh to take over the fort of Kotlar and made a grant of twelve thousand rupees to Raja Shamsheer Singh.

The landlords of Gandgarh rose in revolt and took Abas Khan, the Governor of the fort, a prisoner. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and General Ventura, under orders of the Maharaja, advanced against the rebels. Several mutinous landlords were killed during fighting and the others promised to remain law-abiding in future. Abas Khan was set free. Both the Sikh Generals, thereafter, besieged and occupied the fort of Sri Kot. All these events happened in the year 1826.♦

Prince Sher Singh was ordered to join the forces of General Nalwa. All of them crossed the river Attock to realise the tribute money from Peshawar. When Yaar Mohammad Khan heard this news, he despatched his envoy with one lakh of rupees towards payment of the due amount. Thereupon the Sikh forces returned back from there.

Some important personalities died during that year. **Diwan** Ganga Ram died and his post was offered to **Pandit** Dina Nath who was, later, granted the title of a **Raja**. Sadiq Mohammad Khan, the **Nawab** of Bahawalpur, (also known as Rukan-ud-Dula) had died in April, the same year. His son Rahim Yar Khan, (known as Mohammad Balawal Khan), succeeded him. He sent to the Maharaja a tribute of twenty-five thousand rupees. Hafiz Ahemad Khan, the former **Nawab** of Mankeyra and a feudal lord of Dehra Ismael Khan, died. Prince Kharak Singh was ordered to go there. He made Shah

† Latif, page 434.

♦ Ibid, page 435.

Niwaz Khan, the son of Ahemad Khan, the next owner of the largess and realized from him twenty-five thousand rupees as the tribute.

Zalim Sen, the Raja of Mandi, died. His nephew, Bir Sen, the son of Iesri Sen, succeeded him on payment of fifty thousand rupees to the Lahore Government. Bir Singh the deposed Raja of Nurpur, incited the hill-men of the neighbouring area to attack the fort of Nurpur. But he was defeated and captured by Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia and was taken to Lahore as a prisoner.*

The Maharaja fell ill in the same year, 1826. Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Inayat Shah Hakeem, treated him. The British Government sent Dr Murray, a surgeon of the British army, to Lahore for treating the Maharaja. The Maharaja tried to see that the Surgeon was made very comfortable in Lahore. But he used the medicines prescribed for him by his own hakims. He did not like the company of Murray.† When the Maharaja had regained health, he spent thousand of rupees in charity to the poor people.

Sayyad Ahemad Shah was a resident of Berailly in the U.P. He had been employed as a member of the cavalry division of Amir Khan Rohela formerly. He gave up his post in the cavalry and set himself up as a religious leader. He had gone abroad, in 1822 and visited Mecca and Medina. He was back from his pilgrimage after four years. He started a tirade against the Sikhs in Delhi, though he never said a word against the foreign Britishers. He wrote a book, '**Taqwiat-i-Islam**', for pushing forward the cause of the power of Islam in India.

He collected subscriptions from the Muslims of British India and raised an army of the **Ghazis** for fighting against the Sikhs. The numbers of his Muslim followers swelled into thousands. The well-known **Maulvis** of Delhi, Ismael and Abdul Haye, were among his followers.

He started from Delhi, in 1826, at the head of five hundred **Ghazis**. It had been decided that more of such **Ghazi** bands, under other leaders, were to follow him from time to

* Latif, page. 436.

† Cunningham, page. 182.

time. Sayyad Ahemad marched across the territory of Rajputana and reached Sindh. Meer Rustam of Khairpur gave him a warm welcome.

The Sayyad advanced from Sindh to Qandhar and Kabul and from there he entered the Yusaf Zai hills. He instigated the Muslims of the area against the Sikh Raj and raised the banner of revolt.

The Maharaja received the news of that uprising. He asked the Sandhanwalia Sardars, Budh Singh, Attar Singh and Lehna Singh, to go to the north and control the situation there. When they approached the plain of Akora across the river Attock, they were set upon by Sayyad Ahemad Shah at the head of many thousands of the **Ghazi** militia. A tough battle was fought on February 23, 1827, in which the Sayyad and his army were badly defeated, licked and fled the field to find refuge in the hills.*

The Sayyad returned to the Attock territory a second time in October and created disturbances there. Prince Kharak Singh and Generals Ventura and Allard advanced to oppose him. A very bloody action was fought in which six thousand **Ghazis** lost their lives,** while the Sayyad fled the field.

Lahore had an attack of cholera in the year, 1827, which took hundreded of lives. Sardar Buddh Singh Sandhawalia died of that fell disease. Kashmir suffered from a severe earthquake at the time. Nine thousand houses and about forty thousand persons were lost in the quake.† The Maharaja remitted the payment of the revenue for that year and spent several lakhs of rupees for the relief of the quakestricken families.

* Latif, pages. 437-38; Cunningham, pages. 186-88; Mc. Gregor, page. 197; Ganda Singh, page. 47.

** Amar Nath, page. 181; Kohli, page. 264.

† Ibid, page. 179.

CHAPTER-18
THE CLIMAX-1

Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of British India, came to Simla in 1827 in order to spend the summer season there. The Maharaja commissioned Diwan Moti Ram and Faqir Aziz-ud-Din to go and give presents to him at Simla. In return, an English mission reached Amritsar on 31st May with presents to the Maharaja. The two Governments entertained each other's delegation with warm regards.

The British policy towards the Panjab had undergone a change since 1823. The English rulers were not sincerely friendly towards the Sikh Raj. They had resolved to check the rising power of the Sikhs by all means. Sayyad Ahemad Breilwi, too, had been instigated by these foreigners to oppose the Sikh rule. He had raised funds and recruited his fanatical Ghazis in the British territory. The fact was that the British were bent upon toppling the Sikh kingdom by underhand means, though openly they pretended to be friend of the Maharaja.

Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief of British India, visited Ludhiana in 1828. The envoys of the Maharaja went to see him there. Combermere expressed a wish to see the prominent forts of the Sikhs. But the Maharaja showed no inclination to oblige him.*

A dispute arose between the two at that time. The Maharaja asserted his claim to possess Anandpur, Chamkaur, Wadhni, Ferozepur and other territories belonging to the Ahluwalia Sardar. The British Government accepted the claim of Sikh Darbar to Anandpur, Chamkaur and Wadhni, but not to any other place.†

Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh, the Dogra brothers, commanded an ever-increasing influence in the Sikh

* Cunningham, pages. 183.

† Ibid, page. 184.

court. The Maharaja had conferred the title of the **Raja** on all of them. Raja Dhyan Singh was appointed the Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom in April, 1828. Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhyan Singh, too, was given the title of the **Raja** about that time. Hira Singh was a boy of twelve years, who alone was allowed to sit in a chair in the **Darbar** in the presence of the Maharaja, while every other officer squatted on the floor. Raja Dhyan Singh stood behind the Maharaja, holding a wings-fan in hand driving the flies away, as long as he was present in the **Darbar**. He was a top expert in the art of flattery.

Raja Anrodh Chand, the son of Sansar Chand, had succeeded him as the ruler of Katoch. He went to Lahore in 1828, accompanied by his mother and his two unmarried sisters. The Maharaja suggested to the widow of Sansar Chand that she might marry one of her daughters to Raja Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhyan Singh. The family of Sansar Chand considered itself superior to that of Dhyan Singh Dogra. She, therefore, rejected the suggestion of the Maharaja. She quietly slipped across the Satlej river into the British territory. The Maharaja asked Raja Anrodh Chand to persuade his mother to return to their own town. However, he, too, left his home and slipped across the Satlej. He requested the British to help him against the Sikhs, which they declined to do.*

The Maharaja took into his possession the territory of Anrodh Chand who died of this shock. Then the Maharaja granted a largess to Fateh Chand, the brother of Anrodh Chand, and the title of **Raja**, too. The Maharaja also granted a **Jagir** to the family of Anrodh Chand.

The second Rani of Sansar Chand, in order to win the favour of the Maharaja, married two of her beautiful daughters to him. The Maharaja granted a largess and the title of **Raja** to Jodhbir Chand, the son of that **Rani**.†

Sayyad Ahemad Shah again attacked Peshawar, in 1829. Yar Muhammad was the Governor of Peshwar, representing the Sikh Government, at the time. He wholeheartedly and

* Cunningham, pages. 185.

† Ibid, page. 185; Latif, page. 441.

squarley fought against the **Ghazis** of the Sayyad, but he died of the wounds that he received during the battle.♦ The Sayyad occupied Peshawar.

Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura were near Attock in those days. They rushed and swooped upon Peshawar like a thouderbolt under orders of the Lion of the Panjab. After a very heavy fighting the Sayyad fled the field and the Sikhs took possession of Peshawar. Sultan Muhammad Khan, the brother of Yar Muhammad Khan, had helped the Sikh forces during the fighting. He offered the famous steed, named Leyli, to Prince Sher Singh, for the use of the Maharaja and asked for the Governorship of Peshawar. When the Maharaja's sanction for it had been received, Prince Sher Singh installed Sultan Muhammad Khan as the Governor there.

The Sikh Army returned from Peshawar and Ventura took the horse, Leyli, to Lahore.

Sayyad Ahemad Shah crossed the river Attock in June, 1830, in order to prompt a mutiny in the Kashmir valley. He was met by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and General Allard. The Sayyad was beaten in the battle-field and he returned back.*

When he was back from Kashmir, the Sayyad advanced towards Peshawar. He commanded a force of forty thousand **Ghazis** under him then. Sultan Muhammad Khan submitted to the Sayyad, accepted his terms and paid him the tribute asked for.†

The Sayyad, thus, had again taken possession of Peshawar in 1830. He set up a court of Muslim **Maulvis** in terms of the Islamic religious law. He posed as the apostle or Calif of Islam and minted currency in his own name.

He represented **Wahaabi** section of the Muslims.♦ He extorted heavy tribute money from the residents of Peshawar, who were mainly Muslims. He made a proclamation that all the widowed women in the province of Peshawar, were to

♦ Cunningham, page. 189; McGregor, page 197. Latif, page 441.

* Cunningham, page. 189; McGregor, page 197. Latif, page 441.

† Mc Gregor, page 198. Latif, page 442.

♦ Latif, page 442.

remarry within the space of three days; otherwise the homes of their inheritors were to be consigned to the flames. He made another proclamation, after a few days, to the effect that the unmarried girls, if they were not married within a dozen days, were to be forcibly married to the **Ghazis** who had come from India.*

Cunningham has recorded, on the evidence of Captain Murray, that he girls of the **Yusafzai** tribe were married by the Sayyad to his Indian followers.† Therefore, all the Pathans had turned against the Sayyad. Some of his **Maulvis**, (Muslim priests), were killed by the residents of Peshawar. The Saayad had quite a large following in Muzaffarabad. He passed the administration of Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad Khan for a certain sum of tribute and himself crossed the river Attock to proceed towards Muzaffarabad.

When the Maharaja received the news of the occupation of Peshawar by the Sayyad, he despatched a large Sikh army, under Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura. They overtook and surrounded the Sayyad in the territory of Muzaffarabad. Sayyad Ahemad Shah and Maulvi Mohammad Ismael were killed in the battle of Balakot, in the month of May, 1831.

Prince Sher Singh had a portrait of the Sayyad drawn by a painter, which he sent to the Maharaja.** The body of the Sayyad was buried with due ceremonies. His Indian believers who had escaped death during the battle, slipped to their homes in India. The province of Peshawar was reoccupied by the Sikhs, who agreed to the request of Sultan Muhammad Khan and let him retain the Governorship of Peshawar.

The power of the Lion of the Panjab had attained its climax at the time. The neighbouring governments almost frequently sent presents and letters of friendship to him. The envoys from Blauchistan visited Lahore in 1829, and offered presents to him.

* Ganda Singh, page 27; Latif, page. 442; Cunningham, page. 190.

† Cunningham. page. 190; Murray, page. 150; Refer to the letter of Wade to the Chief Resident of Delhi dated 21.3.1831.

0 Cunningham, page. 190; Murray, page. 150; Mc. Gregor, page. 198; Latif, page. 443; Ganda Singh, page. 28; Kohli, page. 266.

** Amar Nath, page. 195; Kohli, page. 266.

Alexander Burnes came to Lahore in 1831 with presents on behalf of the King of England, which included five fine horses of the European breed and an English buggy or gig, that were specially appreciated by the Sikh court.

Burnes had proceeded to the Panjab along the bed of the river Indus. He had special, secret instructions from the British Government to assess the suitability of this stream for navigational purposes, observing its depth and breadth. He reached Bahawalpur on May 27, 1831.

He crossed into the Panjab from there, where he was received by Sardar Lehna Singh Majeethia. Burnes arrived at Lahore on 18th July. He met the Maharaja on 20th July. He presented to him the gifts and a letter of goodwill and friendliness from the King of England in his **darbar**. Faqir Azizud-Din read the letter to the royal court. The mission that came from abroad, was given due regards and every one of its members was presented a robe of honour according to his rank. The Maharaja wrote to the British King his own letter of friendly accord, in reply to the one from him.

Burnes left Lahore on August the 21, 1831, and went to Simla where he met Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of British India.*

Victor Jackomont, the well-known traveller of Paris, came to Lahore in March, 1831. He was given a hearty reception. The British Government of India and the Lahore **Darbar** were both playing for gaining a foothold in Sindh at this time. The Maharaja was not deceived about the reason for Burnes having chosen his way across Sindh. That was why the Maharaja had deputed General Ventura at the head of an army, in order to take over the possession of Dera Ghazi Khan, which had been handed over to the **Nawab** of Bhawalpur in return for a yearly tribute from the territory. The rest of the territory of Bahawalpur lay to the left of the river Satlej. It was, therefore, taken over by the British Government under its suzerainty, in 1815 like all other States of the Malwa. Lest another dispute should arise, the Maharaja had taken over direct possession the the Dera Ghazi Khan

* Latif, pages. 443-50.

territory from the feudal arrangement with the **Nawab** of Bahawalpur. there was no question raised about the territory of Sindh and none regarding the cancellation of the management of the **Nawab** in the territory north of the Satlej. General Ventura was appointed the Governor of the province of Dera Ghazi Khan. This change was made when Burnes was about to reach Lahore.†

There were two great powers in India at the time: the foreign British Administration and the independent, native Sikh Raj. Both of them knew how powerful either of them was and also understood the need for living as friendly neighbours. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General of British India, moved to Simla at the start of the summer season of 1831. The British Political Agent at Ludhiana, Captain Wade, wrote a letter to the Maharaja, conveying to the latter the desire of the Governor-General to have a meeting with him. Diwan Moti Ram, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa went to Simla to discuss the question with him. The Governor-General highly honoured them.

It was proposed to arrange a meeting of the Governor General with the Maharaja. The British were afraid of Russia creating trouble and difficulties for them and they were, thus, anxious to tell the world powers that they had a fast friend in Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The Maharaja wanted such a meeting to be used in impressing all the Sikhs with the fact that the British accepted him as the leader of the entire Sikh community.

Captian Wade visited Lahore next. It was decided there to hold the proposed meeting at Ropar in October. The British made right royal arrangements for the meeting at Ropar. The Governor-General reached there from Simla. The Maharaja set up his camp on the western banks of the river. He was accompanied by the thousand cavalry men, six thousand foot-soldiers and two gun batteries. Most of the Generals and the **Sardars**, too, had accompanied him there.

When the Maharaja reached his camp the banks of the Satlej, Major General Ramsay, Major Colwin, Mr. Princep

† Cunningham, page. 194.

and the Chief Secretary of the Governor-General visited the camp of the Maharaja as the envoys of the British Government. In the true Indian ceremonial style they waved a sum of ten thousand rupees round the head of the Maharaja and gave away the amount in alms to the needy.

The Maharaja presented robes of honour to these well-wishing friends. In their turn, Prince Kharak Singh, Raja Sangat Singh of Jind, Raja Gulab Singh, Sardar Attar Singh Sandhanwalia, Sardar Sham Singh of Atari and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa went to pay a visit to the Governor-General. In behalf of the Maharaja. Every one of them presented in ceremony to the hosts a bow and eleven hundred rupees. The Governor-General presented all of them with robes of honour. The meeting of the Maharaja and the Governor-General was fixed for the following day, October 26, 1831.

The envoys of the Governor-General proceeded to conduct the Maharaja to the place of the meeting of the first day, (26th October). The procession was led by eight hundred foot-soldiers of Allard, followed by three thousand men of the cavalry and then by the Sardars and the Maharaja, who crossed the river by the boat bridge. The Governor-General, along with his officers, advanced to receive the Maharaja. As the elephants of the two stood closely side by side the Maharaja left his elephant and stepped on to a seat in the howdah of the elephant of the Governor-general and, thus, they reached the tent set up for the conference.

Nicely decorated chairs were placed for seating the Maharaja and his Sardars. The British officers and the Governor-General extended a hearty welcome to the chief guest and his Generals. The Governor-General and the Maharaja took chairs each by the side of the other. The Generals of the Lahore Darbar had the row of their chairs on one side and the officers of the Governor-General on the other side.

The Governor-General presented the Maharaja with two fine steeds, an elephant, a rifle, a sword studded with diamonds, a string of pearls, rubies and gems and the silk cloth from Benaras and Decca. A beautiful horse, with a gold and silver saddle, diamonds and silk cloth were presented to Prince

Kharak Singh. The other Sardars, too, were offered suitable gifts.

The **darbar** ceremony closed after an exchange of complimentary expressions of friendship and amity. The Maharaja, then, returned to his camp.

The Governor-General paid a return visit and went to the camp of the Maharaja the next day. The Sikhs had arranged to receive their guests in a magnificent tent. Princes Kharak Singh and Sher Singh went across the bridge to lead the Governor-General and party. The Maharaja received them on his side of the bridge, when the Governor-General took his seat on the elephant of the Maharaja and reached the reception tent. Presents and gifts were made to the guests from the Maharaja, after exchange of friendly compliments. This visit, too, ended happily as had been the case with that of the previous day. The Governor-General returned to his own camp.

The next four days were devoted to the display of skill, tactics, strategy and the arts of warfare by the personnel of the two armies. The two camps bade farewell to each other on 31st, August and then returned to their headquarters.*

* Latif, pages. 451-54; Mc. Gregor, pages. 199-200.

CHAPTER-19
THE CLIMAX-2

When arrangements for the Ropar meeting were on foot, Colonel Pottinger, the British Agent for Sindh, was trying to settle the terms of a trade-navigation treaty with the Amirs (Chiefs) of that territory.

The British Governor-General wrote a letter to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, propsoing a treaty of navigation in the rivers Indus and Satlej, on December 19, 1831. Colonel Wade went to Lahore, to have talks with the Sikh Darbar, and assured the Maharaja that the British had no intention to build their power in Sindh and that their sole purpose was to make a treaty for navigation alone.*

It was a fact that both these Governments were making efforts to gain a foothold in Sindh. At the time when Colonel Pottinger was trying to entrap the Amirs of Sindh, the Maharaja was busy in making friends with Mir Ali Murad, the ruler of Meerpur, and was ready to offer the territory of Dehra Ghazi Khan in tribute to him.†

Sindh, at the time, was divided among the three Balauch dynasties, stemming from their Talpur lineage. They ruled in Hyderabad, Khairpur and Meerpur. According to Pottinger, the annual revenue of Hyderabad was thirty lakhs that of Khairpur fifteen lakhs and of Meerpur seven lakhs of rupees. Hyderabad had an army of twenty-thousand, Khairpur twelve-thousand and Meerpur eight-thousand soldiers.♦

Pottinger succeeded at last in making a trade treaty with the Amirs of all the three states of Sindh. It was written and signed in April 1832, and it authorised the British to carry their merchandise up the stream of the river Indus in Sindh. It was through the instrumentality of this treaty that the British gained a strong foot-hold in Sindh.

* Cunningham, page. 194.

† Ibid, page. 195.

♦ Sinha, page. 117.

Prince Sher Singh was ordered to go to Kashmir and Prince Kharak Singh to Tonk, on their return from the Ropar meeting. Prince Kharak Singh realised the tribute moneys from the rulers of Tonk and Bannu.

It was during year of 1831 that the Governor of Qandhar sent to the Maharaja at Lahore presents of horses.

Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia was the Governor of all the hilly areas between the rivers Satlej and Ravi. The Maharaja had granted to him a largess of one lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees. He died in April 1832. The Maharaja appointed his son and successor Sardar Lehna Singh, as the Governor of the hilly tracts and granted to him the title of **Qaiser-ul-Iqtadar**. He was, moreover, granted all the largesses of his father. The Management of the Golden Temple of Amritsar had been in the control of Sardar Desa Singh formerly. That, too, was now transferred to Sardar Lehna Singh who mostly lived either in Amritsar or in Majeetha. He visited the hill tracts only when he went touring there.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa collected the revenue from the territory of Hazara in the form of horses and mules and sent them to Lahore. Sultan Muhammad Khan, the Governor of Peshawar, sent to Lahore horses, among which was the famous, beautiful steed, named Pari Parwaz or the Flying Fairy, in lieu of the tribute money. The Maharaja was simply delighted to have a look at the Pari Parwaz horse.* He was very fond of fine horses.

Prince Sher Singh was the Governor of Kashmir and Diwan Baisakha Singh its Revenue Minister. The Diwan failed to manage the revenue affairs of Kashmir efficiently and honestly. He was suspected of having grabbed some of the Government funds. The Maharaja ordered him to be arrested and brought to Lahore and fined him five lakhs of rupees. Jamadar Khushal Singh and Sheikh Ghulam Mahi-ud-Deen were ordered to go and check his Kashmir accounts.

There was a famine during this year in Kashmir and destroyed its crops. The Maharaja spent thousands of rupees from his treasury in feeding and helping the population. The

* Latif, page. 458.

Jamadar and the Sheikh did not run the administration of Kashmir properly. The Sheikh rather was known to have misappropriated lakhs of rupees through dishonest means and had a pit dug inside his house in which he had concealed this wealth.

The Maharaja expressed his displeasure with both of them and called them back to Lahore. He appointed General Mihan Singh as the deputy of prince Sher Singh and sent him to Kashmir. Jamadar Khushal Singh was not allowed to attend the royal court for a month. Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din was imprisoned. He had built a tomb, presumably of one of his religious preceptors, inside his house in Hoshiarpur. This tomb was dug, and a treasure, worth nine lakh and a half in gold and silver, was discovered.†

All this wealth was forfeited to the Government treasury. The Maharaja remarked to him sarcastically, "Your worship of your apostle has not been in vain. By virtue of this worship and spiritual powers, his bones have been transformed into gold and silver."♦

Qutab-ud-Din of Qasur died in 1832 and was buried in his feudal estate in Mamdot.

Rani Sada Kaur died in the end of the year 1832, in Amritsar, where she had been detained in a prison.

Captian Wade came to Lahore in December, 1832. An agreement for navigation, between the Panjab Darbar and the British Indian Government, covering the waters of the River Indus below the Sutlej and Panjnad, was signed in Lahore. There was an addition of the few new terms made in it later, on November the 29, 1834. There was still another treaty made on May 19, 1839, in continuation with the above mentioned two treaties, about the toll to be charged to the navigating vessels.*

The kingdom of Afghanistan had already been divided into small principalities. Prince Kamran ruled in Balakh,

† Ibid, page. 465.

♦ Amar Nath, page. 228; Kohli, pages. 277-78.

* Reference may be made to Cunningham, pages. 385, 387 and 388 for the terms of these treaties.

Bukhara and Herat. After the death of Muhammad Azim Khan, his brother, Sher Dil Khan, had set himself up as an independent ruler in Qandhar. Dost Muhammad Khan ruled in Kabul, Gazani and Jalalabad. The Sikhs had conquered the province of Peshawar and had passed it to Sultan Muhammad Khan, in return for a yearly tribute. These two, Dost and Sultan, also were the brothers of Azim Khan. Kashmir and Dera Jat had been merged with the Sikh Kingdom of the Panjab. The Amirs of Sindh were independent rulers now.

Shah Shuja, even in the position in which he was then living, considered himself to be the king of Afghansitan. He had requested the Lion of the Panjab in 1831, for help to enable him to occupy the throne of Kabul. The Maharaja agreed to do it on two conditions: cow killing was to be prohibited in Afghanistan and the doors of the temple of Somnath were to be retransferred to India from Ghazani. Shah Shuja declined to agree to these terms.†

Shah Shuja left Ludhiana in February 1833, on his way home to occupy Kabul. He travelled by way of Bahawalpur and Shikarpur in Sindh and reached Qandhar. He was defeated by Dost Muhammad Khan during the battle of Qandhar on January, 1, 1834.* He returned to Ludhiana in March, 1835, by way of Seestan, Balauchistan and Sindh.

Nawab Asad Khan of Sanghar territory revolted in 1833. Prince Kharak Singh marched against him with his army. Asad Khan fled to the neighbouring hills. The Prince occupied all that territory up to the Suleman Mountains and made it over to General Ventura for administration.††

The Maharaja felt indisposed towards the end of the year 1833. This led to setting free of the thousands of the prisoners of the day.

Diwan Bhawani Das, the Revenue Minister, died in the beginning of the year 1834. Pandit Deena Nath was appointed to succeed him.

The **Pathans** killed several Sikhs in Bannu when the former revolted against the Government. The Sardars of Atari

† Cunningham, page. 196.

* Latif, page. 463.

†† Latif, page. 464.

and Raja Suchet Singh punished the rebels and restored peace in that territory.

The Sikhs had conquered the province of Peshawar and had farmed in away to Barakzai Sardars for lease money years back. It was administered by Sultan Muhammad Khan at the time. Dost Muhammad Khan felt very powerful after he had defeated Shah Shuja. The Maharaja felt concerned about the security of that territory, fearing that Dost Muhammad Khan might conspire with his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan of Peshawar, in order to grab that province. The Maharaj, therefore, bent Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Prince Naunihal Singh, at the head of a large army, to Peshawar to regain complete control of the province.

This army crossed the river Attock in the end of April. Sultan Muhammad Khan and Peer Muhammad Khan left Peshawar as the Sikhs approached it. The latter occupied it on May 6, 1834, without any resistance. ♦ Prince Naunihal Singh was appointed the first Sikh Governor of Peshawar and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa his Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief.

A Sikh Mission, under the leadership of Sardar Gujjar Singh of Majeetha, left for Calcutta carrying gifts and letters of friendly wishes for the King of England and the Governor-General of British India in September, 1834.* This mission was back in Lahore in March 1836.

It was in this year that the horses and the camles of the government were stamped with their different numbers on them under orders of the Maharaja.

The Maharaja went on tour to Batala. Prince Sher Singh was not present in his feudal estate at the time. Prince Partap Singh received the Maharaja and offered him presents. The Maharaja was pleased with his grandson and offered him a costly robe of honour. He went to Sialkot, where he received the lease-hold dues from Prince Peshaura Singh.

A quarrel arose between the Raja and the Minister of Ladakh. Zorawar Singh, a general of Raja Gulab Singh of

♦ Cunningham, page. 199; Kohli, pages. 281-82.

* Cunningham, page. 200.

Jammu, advanced by way of Kishtwar, along with his army, and reached Ladakh. He supported the cause of the Minister. He offered to the Minister the province of Ladakh as a feudal holding, in return for a yearly sum of thirty thousand rupees as its revenue. He posted a Sikh force there at the Capital town of Leh. Some of the areas of Ladakh were merged with Jammu.† General Zorawar Singh was, thus, back in Lahore in the beginning of 1835, after occupying Ladakh and brought with him an amount of money received in tributes for the Maharaja.

Prince Naunihal Singh was betrothed to Nanaki, the daughter of Sardar Sham Singh of Atari, towards the end of year 1834.♦

When Dost Muhammad Khan, who was the King of Kabul at the time, received the news of the fleeing of Sultan Muhammad Khan from Peshawar for fear of the Sikh army, he was beside himself with indignation. He lost no time to advance on Peshawar at the head of a large army. At the same time, he asked the British for help against the Sikhs, which the latter declined to render to him in any form.* Dost Muhammad Khan assumed the title of a **Ghazi** and appealed to the faithful to fight in the sacred name of Islamic religion. Thousands of **Ghazis** answered his call and joined the war with him. He left Jalalabad, crossed the Khaibaer Pass and encamped, along with his commanders, at the foot of the hills to the east of the Pass.

The Maharaja himself advanced and took up his position at Peshwar, as soon as he heard of the news of the invasion by the Kabul armies. Sultan Muhammad Khan joined hands with the Maharaja, though his condition was altogether helpless.♦♦ The Maharaja sent Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, Mr. Horllin and Sultan Muhammad Khan to Dost Muhammad Khan, to persuade him to go back to Kabul in peace, on the one hand,

† Ibid, Page, 201.

♦ Latif, page, 472.

* Ibid, page, 469.

♦♦ Ibid, page, 469.

and surrounded the **Ghazi** hordes with the help of his Sikh army, on the other.

The Sikh army had planned to attack the enemy from three sides on May 12, 1835. Dost Muhammad Khan happened to get wind of it in time. He retreated from the field under cover of the night of 11th May, leaving behind him two guns and other material. He played foul and seized Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Horllin, the envoys of the Sikh Government. The Faqir tried to explain and warn him against the reprisals the Maharaja was bound to resort to, which could result in the loss of thousands of muslim lives, resulting from the treachery of Dost Muhammad Khan.

Dost Muhammad Khan handed over the two Sikh envoys to his brother Sultan Muhammad Khan, who did not want to break relations with the Maharaja. Sultan showed proper respect to the two envoys and took them back to the Sikh King, who was very pleased at this behaviour and granted feudal estates to Sultan Muhammad Khan and Peer Muhammad Khan in Hashatnagar and Kohat.

Prince Naunihal Singh was appointed the Governor of Peshawar, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa the Commander-in-Chief and Raja Gulab Singh the Minister of Revenue in the administration of the Province. The Maharaja returned to Lahore, after these arrangements had been finalised.

CHAPTER-20
THE CLIMAX-3

The Maharaja Ranjit Singh was indisposed was in 1836 at Amritsar. He was unable to speak for several days, being smitten with tetanus. The prisoners were set free all over the Panjab. The care and the treatment of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Hakim Imam-ud-Din gave the Maharaja his good health back.

It was during that year that Dr Honigberger, a German, Dr Hollin, an American, Dr Mc Gregor, Pandit Kishan, an envoy of the King of Nepal, Surjoo, an envoy of the Raja of Bikaner and Bhimkal, a brother of the Raja of Tibet, reached Lahore and met the Maharaja.

Shah Niwaz Khan, the son of the Nawab of Maankeyra, was in possession of Dera Ismael Khan in largess. Shah Niwaz had been committing many improper acts. Accordingly, Prince Naunihal Singh and Sardar Attar Singh Sandhawalia arrested him and confiscated the territory and took it under the direct control of the Lahore administration. They proceeded to Tonk, next, and similarly took it, too, over.*

Prince Sher Singh and Sardar Tej Singh defeated Fateh Khan Yusafzai and occupied the territory of Panjtar in the same year. Fateh Khan escaped to Bunyer; but his comrade Ameer Khan was imprisoned.**

The fate of Sindh was on the anvil at that time. Princes Kharak Singh and Naunihal Singh advanced towards Sindh at the head of their army. Mazair a tribe of Rojahaan, raided the Sikh territories frequently. The army routed the Mazairs and took possession of the forts of Rojhaan and Kaan; the former was occupied in August and the latter in October, 1836.†

General Allard had returned to France on leave. When he returned to Lahore in 1836, he had brought for the Lion

* Latif, page. 473.

** s Ibid, page. 474

† Ibid, page 474; Cunningham, page. 203.

of the Panjab a letter of friendship and some other gifts from the king of France.

It has been mentioned that the forts of Rojhan and Kan had been taken over by the Sikhs. They had wished to grab Shikaarpur, too. The British, on the other side, were busy in building their power in Sindh. The two powers were likely to come to a clash at that point. The forces on either side had been alerted for a collision. A majority of the Generals of the Maharaja were in favour of a war with the British.♦

Captain Wade was commissioned to go to Lahore. He had several interviews with the Maharaja and proposed certain terms for peace-keeping. One suggestion made by him to the Maharaja was that he could retain the fort of Rojhan, but he was to have nothing to do with the rest of the Sindh. The Maharaja did not definitely agree to accept the proposal. All the same, he kept quiet on the problem of the Sindh to all practical purposes.

The marriage of Naunihal Singh was celebrated with a pomp and glamour that had never been surpassed in the whole of India, not to speak of the Panjab. The Lion of the Panjab must have spent more than twenty lakhs of rupees on the ceremony. He had invited for the occasion prominent personalities from all over the country: the Sardars, the feudal gentry, the **Rajas** of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Kalsia, Naraingarh, Ladwa, Suket, Mandi, Chamba, Nurpur and other States; the **Nawab** of Malerkotla, the British Officers; the Governor-General, the Governor of Agra and the Commander-in-Chief of British India.

Of the British, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry France, alone joined the function. Of the rest of the invitees, nearly everybody came to attend the ceremonies.

The Marriage party started from Amritsar. On the morning of 7th March, Prince Nahunihal Singh was made to wear a golden **Sehra**,* studded with gems and diamonds. He was taken to the Golden Temple where he bowed in reverence and offered five hundred rupees in holy homage. He of-

♦ Cunningham, page. 205.

* A chaplet, worn on the head of the bridegroom.

ferred one hundred and fifty rupees at the Akal Thakht and one hundred and twenty five ruppes at each of the other local Gurdwaras. He presented five hundred rupees to the Akalis for sacred pudding, too.

They started from Amritsar for Ataari at 3 P.M. the same day. The Maharaja and Henry Fane sat on the same elephant. The Rajas and Sardars, too, rode the elephants. Each elephant carried a bag of coins, worth two thousands of rupees, for throwing them over to the poor people as charity. A section of the cavalry and a unit of the artillery and a military band accompanied the party. The beggers and the needy had assembled there in their thousands.

Sardar Sham Singh of Atari offered to the Maharaja, at the time of the reception of the marriage party, five horses, along with their equipment, and one hundred and one gold coins; one horse and fifty-one **mohars** to Prinice Kaharak Singh and one horse and eleven **mohars** to Prince Sher Singh. Every one of the other members of the party was made gifts that were proper to his rank. Fire-works were displayed and singing and music continued throughout the night. Every member of the party was served, on behlaf of Sardar Shaam Singh, as was suited to the position of the former.

The Sikh-marriage ceremony* was performed at nine O' clock on the morning of March, 1837. A large area, twenty-five miles square, was fenced in as a compound, having eighty gates and guarded all around by the army. All the poor persons, whose number was as high as ten lakhs, were together let into that compound. Every one of them was given one rupee and let out of the compound. All these arrangements were made under the supervision of Prince Kharak Singh and Misar Beli Ram.

Sardar Sham Singh the Maharaja gifts of one hundred and one horses, along with their harnesses, one hundred and one buffaloes, one hundred and one cows, one hundred and one camles, eleven elephants, five hundred shawls, in addition to gold and silver vessels, jewellery, diamonds, gems, silk cloth and money in cash, as dowry, at the time of the

* It is named **Anand Karaj** ceremony.

departure of the Maharaja's party. All these guest were offered robes of honour. Sardar Sham Singh had spent fifteen lakhs of rupees on this marriage. The party left Atari the next day, spent the night at the Shalimar Garden and reached Lahore the following day.†

Henry Fane, the British Commander-in-Chief, stayed in Lahore till 27th March. He saw the drill of the Sikh Army and the diamonds, gems, horses and weapon of the Maharaja. When he was back at his head-quarters in India, he reported to his Government that it would require army, sixty-seven thousand strong, and a period of a couple of years to conquer the whole of the Panjab.♦ That is to say, such was the purpose of Henry Fane in coming to the Panjab and joining the royal marriage party and that was the way in which the hollow, British declarations of friendship with the Sikh Panjab were to be utilized.

A large part of the army had been detached to Atari on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Nahunihal Singh. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa was down with fever in Peshawar. That was the reason of his absence from the marriage celebrations of the Prince.

The Sikhs had strengthened the defences of the fort of Jamrood, situated at the eastern end of the Khaibar Pass. Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul was bitterly vexed at this development. He had information of the sickness of Sardar Hari Nalwa and of the depleted condition of the Sikh army in Peshawar. He ordered his Lieutenant, Mirza Sammi Khan, to attack Jamrood and wash out the disgrace of his former defeat. He commanded a seven thousand strong regular cavalry, two thousand rifle men, twenty thousand **Ghazis** of the Khaibar area and fifty cannons. He was, moreover, supported by commanders, like Jabbar Khan, Muhammad Usman Khan, Shuja-ud-Daula Khan, Mullan Muhammad Khan, Zarreen Khan of Arz Beg Shammus-ud-Din Khan, and five sons of Dost Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Afzal Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Ghulam Hyder Khan, Muhammad Azam Khan

† Latif, pages. 475-78; Mc. Gregor, pages. 205-211.

♦ Cunningham, page. 214.

and Akram Khan, Dost Muhammad Khan himself stayed behind in Kabul.

This large army attacked the small force of the Sikhs, hardly one thousand in number, in the fort of Jamrood. A bloody and fierce battle was fought. The tough cannonade of two or three days smashed the walls of the fort of Jamrood to smithereens. Before the enemy could enter the fort, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, not caring for this illness, joined the battle at the head of ten thousand soldiers on April 13, 1837.

The fighting took a new turn as soon as these reinforcements arrived. The Sikh attack was so powerful that the enemy corpses lay scattered in heaps. The **Pathans** left their defence positions and ran into the hills of the Khaibar Pass for shelter. They were hotly pursued by the Sikh soldiers. Two shots fired from inside a hill-side cave pierced the abdomen of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa.* He returned to the fort in the wounded condition and breathed his last the same night. He was quietly cremated during the night inside the fort. The sad news was kept a secret from people outside the fort, though it was sent to the Maharaja at Lahore all right. The **Pathans** stayed put in the hills of the Khaibar for several days for fear of Hari Singh Nalwa being at watch inside the fort. The Sikh army was busy in improving the defences of their fort of Jamrood, meanwhile.

When the news of the death of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa reached the Maharaja, he was terribly enraged, and himself started for the north at the head of an army. He encamped at Rohtas and deputed Raja Dhyan Singh, with an army to march ahead. With the addition of this new army, the Sikh force rose to forty thousand men in the territory of Peshawar and Jamrood. And no sooner did the Pathans come to know of it, than they fled to Jalalabad.**

Apart from that, Sayyad Baba Jaan, Meer Alam Khan, Sadat Khan and Haji Khan had advanced in order to attack Hashtnagar, which had been occupied by Sardar Lehna Singh

* Griffin, page. 159.

** Ganda Singh, page 32; Latif, pages. 482-84.

Sandhawalia. He had entrenched himself in the strong defences there. But when the army of Sammi Khan fled the field, the force of Sayyad Baba Jaan also melted away from Hashtnagar, without firing a shot.

The Maharaja appointed Sardar Tej Singh as the Governor of Peshawar and himself returned to Lahore. After a short period, however, he appointed General Avitabile to the Governorship of Peshawar in place of Sardar Tej Singh.

CHAPTER-21

THE FINALE

With the martyrdom of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa a mighty pillar of the Sikh Government had been crumbled. The Maharaja grieved bitterly over this loss. The turban brother of the Maharaja, Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia died in October 1837. The Maharaja felt his separation as keenly as that of a real brother. Ahluwalia's son, Nihal Singh, succeeded to the feudal estate of Kapurthala.

The Raja of Mandi had been keeping indifferent health. Moreover, his administration of the State was poor. His nephew, Balbir Singh, was installed as the Raja of the State, and he paid to the Lahore Darbar twenty thousand rupees in tribute.

Paindey Khan had revolted in the territory of Tonk, but Sardar Sardool Singh Maan and Sardar Chet Singh crushed the revolts. It was about this time that the territory of Kachhi was made over to Fateh Khan Tiwana, who, in return, presented eleven horses, fifty-one camels and paid in, as tribute money, a sum of sixty-five thousands of rupees.

Ayub, the ex-King of Kabul, who lived in Lahore as a refugee, died in the end of 1887.*

This was the time when there was a great fear of a Russian invasion of India by way of Iran. The British Government of India deputed Sir Alexander Burnes to Dost Muhammad Khan at Kabul, where he reached in September, 1837. Dost Muhammad Khan suggested to the English envoy that if the British helped him to recover Peshawar from the Sikhs, he would accept all terms proposed by the latter. The British, however, refused to concede that demand.

Meanwhile, another mission, this time one of Russia, came to see Dost Muhammad Khan. He switched off negotiations from the British delegation and started confabs with

* Latif, page. 484.

the Russians. The Governor-General of British India wrote to Dost Muhammad Khan, asking him not to have any dealings with the Russians. Dost Muhammad Khan simply ignored that letter. The British mission under Burnes resented this behaviour and left Kabul on April 26, 1838. The Russian delegation was, all the same, pursuing its mission in Kabul.

The British rulers now decided to help Shah Shuja regain the throne of Kabul. But they were not in a position to make the plan a success without the help of the Lion of the Panjab. A British mission, comprising Mr. Macknaghten, the Political Secretary of the British Government of India, Captain Osbourne, the Military Secretary of the Governor-General, Captain Wade, the Political Agent of Ludhiana, Captain Mc Gregor, the Aide-de-Camp of the Governor-General, and Doctor Drummond, came to Panjab in May 1838 in order to enlist the good offices of the Maharaja in that connection.

This mission crossed the river Satlej on 20th May, at Ropar. The Court of the Maharaja was in camp at Dina Nagar. Prince Partap Singh, the elder son of Prince Sher Singh, was asked to go ahead and receive the members of the mission at some distance from the camp. Osbourne has written of him : "Partap Singh is a more intelligent boy than most boys of his age whom I have met. He is very handsome, has large, bright eyes and is quite a darling."

The British Mission presented to the Maharaja, on 29th May, the gifts sent by the Governor-General. A regular meeting of the mission with the Maharaja was held on 31st May. The British officer explained to him their plan of seating Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul and asked for his help in making it a success. They added that if the Sikh Darbar wanted to go it alone in executing that plan, the British would be indeed happy over it. And, if the Maharaja wanted the British Government to help him in the venture, it was prepared to assist him.

The Maharaja consented to render the British his help in carrying out the proposed plan. A three cornered agreement was signed in Lahore, among Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, Shah Shuja and the British Government of India, on June 26, 1838.

According to this agreement, these three powers promised to remain friendly. Shah Shuja abjured all his political claims to the territories of Kashmir, Peshawar, Dera Jat, Mithankot, Mankeyra, Multan etc., all the places that the Maharaja had already conquered to the east of the Khaibar Pass. He also promised to make presents to the Maharaja every year. He agreed to let the British Government of India be the paramount power in the territories of the **Amirs** of Sindh. To boot, he agreed to have no truck with any other Government with the exception of the British and the Sikhs.

Tripartite Treaty of Lahore

"The Tripartite Treaty with Ranjeet Singh and Shah Shuja, of 1838"*

"Treaty of Alliance and friendship between Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk with the approbation of, and in concert with, the British Government.

"Done at Lahore on 26 June 1838, signed at Simla, on 23 July 1838.

"Whereas a treaty was formerly concluded between Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, consisting of fourteen articles, exclusive of the pre-amble and the conclusion. And whereas the execution of the provisions of the said treaty was suspended for certain reasons. And whereas, at this time, Mr. W. H. Macknaughten having been deputed by the Right Honourable George Lord Auckland, G.C.B., Governor General of India, to the presence of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, and vested with full powers to form a treaty, in manner consistent with the friendly engagements subsisting between the two States, the treaty afore said is revived, and concluded with certain modifications, and four new articles have been added thereto, with the approbation of and in concert with the British Government, the provision whereof, ascertained in the following eighteen articles, will be duly and faithfully observed :

"**Article 1.** Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, and all the Saddozias, to all the territories lying on either bank of the river Indus, that

* Cunningham, **A History of the Sikhs**, 1918, pages. 389-93

may be possessed by the Maharaja, viz. Kashmir, including its limits, E.W.N.S., together with the forts of Attock, Chach, Hazara, Khabal, Amb, with its dependencies, on the left bank of the aforesaid river, and on the right bank, Peshawar, with the Yusufzias territories, the Khataks, Hashtnagar, Michni, Kohat, Hanggu, and all places dependent on Peshawar, as far as the Khaibar Pass, Bannu, the Vaziri's territory, Daur Tank, Garang, Kala Bag and Khushalgarh, with their dependent districts, Dehra Ismael Khan, and its dependency, Kot Mithan, Umar Kot and their dependent territory; Sanghar, Harrand-Dajal, Hajipur, Rajanpur and the three Kaches, as well as Mankeyra, with its districts, and the province of Multan, situated on the left bank. These countries and places are considered to be the property, and to form the estate, of the Maharaja; the Shah neither has nor will have any concern with them; they belong to the Maharaja and his posterity from generation to generation.

Article 2. The people of the country on the other side of the Khaibar will not be suffered to commit robberies or agressions or any disturbances on this side. If any defaulter of either State, who has embezzled the revenue, takes refuge in the territory of the other, each party engages to surrender him, and no person shall obstruct the passage of the stream which issues out of the Khaibar defile, and supplies the fort of Fatehgarh with water according to ancient usage.

Article 3. As, agreeably to the treaty established between the British Government and the Maharaja, no one can cross from the left to the right bank of the Satlej without a passport from the Maharaja; the same rule shall be observed regarding the passage of the Indus, whose waters join the Satlej, and no one shall be allowed to cross the Indus without the Maharaja's permission.

Article 4. Regarding Shikarpur and the territory of Sindh, on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settle as right and proper, in conformity with

the happy relation of friendship subsisting between the British Government and the Maharaja through Captian Wade.

Article 5. When the Shah shall have established his authority in Kabul and Qandhar, he well annually send the Maharaja the following articles, viz, fifty-five high bred horses of approved colour and pleasant paces; eleven Persian scimitars; seven Persian Poniards; twenty-five good mules; fruits of various kinds, both dry and fresh; the **Sardaas** or musk melons, of a sweet and delicate flavour, (to be sent throughout the year by the way of the Kabul river to Peshawar), grapes, pomegranates, apples, quinces, almonds, raisins, pistas or chestnuts, an abundant supply of each: as well as pieces of satin of every colour; **chogas** of fur; **kimkhabs** wrought with gold and silver; and Persian carpets, altogether to the number of one hundred and one pieces-all these articles the Shah will continue to send every year to the Maharaja.

Artical 6. Each party shall address the other on terms of equality.

Article 7. Merchants of Afghanistan who may be desirous of trading to Lahore, Amritsar or any other parts of the Maharaja's possessions, shall not be stopped or molested on their way; on the contrary, strict orders shall be issued to facilitate their inter-course and the Maharaja engages to observe the same line of conduct on his part, in respect to traders who may wish to proceed to Afghanistan.

Article 8. The Maharaja shall yearly send to the Shah the following articles in the way of friendship: fifty-five pieces of shawls; twenty-five pieces of muslin; eleven dupattas; five pieces of kamkhab; five scarfs; five turbans; fifty-five loads of Bara rice, peculiar to Peshawar.

Article 9. Any of the Maharaja's officers who may be deputed to Afghanistan to purchase horses, or on any other business, as well as those who may be sent by the Shah into the Panjab, for the purpose of purchasing piece-goods or shawls, etc., to the amount of eleven thousand rupees, will be treated

by both sides with due attention, and every facility will be afforded to them in the execution of their commission.

Article 10. Whenever the armies of the two states may happen to be assembled at the same place, on no account shall the slaughter of kine be permitted to take place.

Article 11. In the event of the Shah taking on auxiliary force from the Maharaja, whatever booty may be acquired from the Barakzias in Jewels, horses, arms, great and small, shall be equally divided between the two contracting parties. If the Shah should succeed in obtaining possession of their property, without the assistance of the Maharaja's troops, the Shah agrees to send a portion of it by his own agent to the Maharaja in the way of friendship.

Article 12. An exchange of mission charged with letters and presents shall constantly take place between the two parties.

Article 13. Should the Maharaja require the aid of any of the Shah's troops in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this treaty, the Shah engages to send a force, commanded by one of his principal officers, in the like manner, the Maharaja will furnish the Shah, when required, with an auxiliary force, composed of Mohammadans, and commanded by one of the principal officers, as far as Kabul in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this treaty. When the Maharaja may go to Peshawar, the Shah will depute a Shahzada to visit him, on which occasions the Maharaja will receive and dismiss him with the honour and consideration due to his rank and dignity.

Article 14. The friends and enemies of each of the three high powers, that is to say, the British and the Sikh Governments and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, shall be the friends and enemies of all.

Article 15. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk engages, after the attainment of his object, to pay without fail to the Maharaja the sum of two lakhs of rupees, of the Nankshahi or Kaldar currency, calculating from the date on which the Sikh troops may be

dispatched for the purpose of reinstating His Majesty in Kabul, in consideration of the Maharaja stationing a force of not less than five thousand men, cavalry and infantry, of the Mohammadan persuasion, within the limits of the Peshawar territory, for the support of the Shah, and to be sent to the aid of His Majesty, whenever the British Government, in concert and counsel with the Maharaja, shall deem their aid necessary; and when any matter of great importance may arise to the westward, such measures will be adopted with regard to it as may seem expedient and proper at the time to the British and the Sikh Governments. In the event of the Maharaja's requiring the aid of any of the Shah's troops, a deduction shall be made from the subsidy proportioned to the period for which such aid may be afforded, and the British Government holds itself responsible for the punctual payment of the above sum annually to the Maharaja, so long as the provisions of this treaty are duly observed.

Artical 16. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk agrees to relinquish for himself, his heirs and successors, all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Amris of Sindh, (which will continue to belong to the **Amris** of Sindh and their successors in perpetuity), on condition of the payment to him, the **Amirs**, of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the the British Government; fifteen lakhs of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. On these payments being completed, article 4th of the treaty of the **12th March**, 1833, (between Shah Shuja and Ranjeet Singh), will be considered cancelled, and the customary interchange of letters and suitable presents between the Majaraja and the Amris of Sindh shall be maintained as before.

Article 17. When Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk shall have succeeded in establishing his authority in Afghanistan, he shall not attack or molest his nephew, the ruler of Hirat, in the possession of his territories now subject to his Government.

Article 18. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk binds himself, his heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into negotiations with any foreign State without the knowledge and consent of the British and the Sikh Governments, and to oppose any power having the design to invade the British and Sikh territories by force of arms to the utmost of his ability.

The three powers, parties to this treaty, namely the British Government, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, cordially agree to the foregoing articles. There shall be no deviations from them, and in that case, the present treaty shall be considered binding for ever, and this treaty shall come into operation from and after the date on which and seals the signatures of the three contracting parties shall have been affixed thereto.

Done at Lahore, this 26th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1838, corresponding with the 15th of the month of Har, 1895.

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General at Simla, on 23 July, A.D. 1838.

Signed : Auckland.

Ranjeet Singh

Shuja-ul-Mulk.

When all formalities about this treaty had been concluded, the British Mission left Lahore on 13th July. Shah Shuja signed it at Ludhiana and the Governor-General signed it at Simla, on 23rd July. Preparations were now set on foot in order to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul.

Prince Daleep Singh was born of Maharani Jind Kaur, on September 4, 1838. He was the last child of the Maharaja. Lahore had gone festive and gay for several days on this occasion and thousand of rupees were given in alms to the poor.

A British army set up its camp at Ferozepur in order to take possession of Kabul. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and Governor-General Auckland held a meeting on November the 30th. The Maharaja did not agree to the proposal that the British forces were to be allowed to march across the Panjab territories. An English army, fifteen-thousand strong and a large army recruited by Shah Shuja, left Ferozepur in December. This army advanced by way of Bahawalpur, Shikarpur in Sindh and Quetta, crossing the Boloan Pass, and attacked Kandhar.

The Sikh army left Lahore in January 1839. Prince Taimur, (son of Shah Shuja) and Captain Wade had accompanied this force. They marched direct to Peshawar. The army of Shah Shuja had occupied Qandhar without opposition, on April 25, 1839.

Shah Shuja was enthroned as the King of Afghanistan at Qandhar and a proclamation to that effect was made on May the 8th, and cannon were fired one hundred and one times in honour of the occasion. He was offered presents by the British Government and tributes in money were made to him by his officers. Gazni and Kabul were occupied in July. Shah Shuja was seated on the throne of Kabul on August, 1839.*

The Maharaja had now to do a lot of more administrative work than what he used to do before the death of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa. This had caused a fast deterioration in his health. When he received the news of the occupation of Kandhar by Shah Shuja, he was down in sick-bed with a stroke of paralysis. The attack of paralysis and of lock-jaw worsened fast. When he felt a little relief from his diseases in a few days later, he called a common's assembly in the Hazoori Garden. This was his last session with his people.

He reached the **Darbar** where he was taken in a palankeen. He put a sandal mark on the forehead of Prince

* Latif. pages. 491-92.

Kharak Singh in token of his being the successor of the Maharaja from that day. He next made Raja Dhyan Singh grasp the hand of the Prince as a promise, on the part of the former, of loyalty to the new King. The citation of Prince Kharak Singh being the Maharaja and Dhyan Singh the Chief Minister was proclaimed then. The Maharaja asked for the diamond, called the Koh-i-noor, and some more rubies and precious stones to be transferred to the Golden Temple of Amritsar as offerings. But Raja Dhyan Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh and Missar Beli Ram declined to produce them. The assembly dispersed after thousands of rupees had been given away in charity.

At last, the Lion of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, breathed his last on June 27, 1839, at the age of fifty-eight years, seven months and twenty-six days. With his departure from the world, the land of the Panjab became deserted and its Kingdom shorn of Glory. The brilliant times of his reign did not return to the Panjab ever after him. His Panjab at which no British evil eye dared stare while he lived, was soon to be trampled upon under the feet of the Britishers once he was no more.* The independence of India has been earned against the price that the sweet, sweet, Panjab of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh paid with its martyrdom. The progeny of the Sardars of the Darbar of the Lion of the Panjab is turned homeless today and is roaming from door to door for a living. One may well wonder whether the spirit of this dear son of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, will ever return home, incarnate in the person of another such leader of the people and afford secure, home life for these home-less millions of today.

* Shahamat Ali, the author of **The Sikhs and Afghans** writes. that he had reached Lahore, in the company of Colonel Wade, on 10 November, 1839. He has written of his impression about the death of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh: "Such was the state of affairs at Lahore on our arrival. The town looked dull and melancholy as if its prosperity had died with Ranjeet Singh." (p. 546)

The Maharaja's body was cremated at a spot near the Gurdwara Dera Sahib, the next day. Eleven of his queens performed the custom of the sati. His eldest son, Maharaja Kharak Singh, set fire to the pile of fuel wood that made his father's pyre. Twenty-two lakhs of rupees in cash and goods worth twenty-five lakhs of rupees were given in charity to the needy. That was how that brave warrior disappeared from this mundane world, leaving behind him an unforgettable trail of a glorious memory on the firmament of the history of this country.

APPENDIX 1
THE PERSONALITY, ARMY AND INCOME
OF THE MAHARAJA

"The visitors who came to meet the Maharaja, have expressed a very high opinion of him. The views of only two of these visitors might be quoted here with benefit to the reader.

Mc Gregor has recorded that the Maharaja was short in stature. He adds : "His face is disfigured with smallpox, and is deprived of the left eye from the same cause, and is not much indebted to nature for its external beauty. His remaining eye is very large; and there is a fire and brilliancy about it, when he becomes animated, which at once discover the energetic mind and discriminating character of its owner. His smile is pleasing, and his manner of address easy and unembarrassed on all occasions; he never appears at a loss for words to express his ideas, which are quickly formed on any subject.

"When discoursing, he appears at once to grasp the whole bearings of the subject, and his reasoning powers and discriminating acumen are of the highest order. In his youth, Ranjeet Singh was remarkably active, and an excellent horseman, and well-skilled in every thing connected with military feats. He was ever the for most in battle, and the last in retreat. There is no instance of his being even embarrassed, or evencing anything like fear, on record. His whole life has been spent in warfare, and he even now prefers a tent or any temporary residence to the gilded palace.

"He is dotingly fond of horses; and it is no uncommon thing for him, to have a couple of them saddled and bridled in his darbar. This I remarked at Amritsar, where one of the horses was standing close to him, while the other, he said, was merely concealed by a curtain.

"In the articles of dress, he is now exceedingly plain, except on great occasions, when he dresses with taste and

elegance, displaying a magnificent diamond, called the Koh-i-noor, or mountain of light. This precious stone was once the property of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the unfortunate ex-king of Kabul.

"A visitor to the court of Ranjeet Singh is astonished at the rich and costly dresses of his courtiers. In fact, an ill-dressed person is not allowed to approach him while in Darbar. And his is, I believe, the only native court where the most rigid attention is paid to this piece of etiquette.

"He generally converses in Panjabi with his own people, and only employs the Hindustani in talking with his European visitors, though in this instance, he, for the most part, prefers an interpreter who knows both languages, which are the only ones with which he himself is acquainted, as his time has been too much occupied with military matters to allow of his devoting any portion of it to literary pursuits. He, nevertheless, respects learning and learned men, referring to them for such information as they are supposed to possess and which he has not had the opportunity of acquiring.

"When talking, he generally sits with his legs crossed and raised on the chair, resting one hand on his Knee, while the other is employed in stroking his long, white beard, which is so bushy as almost to conceal his mouth. Military subjects are the usual topics of conversation."*

"Ranjeet Singh in an early riser. On getting out of bed, he takes a ride on horse-back and returns about an hour or two after sunrise, when he enters his darbar and transacts his business until noon, after taking his morning meal at about eight O' Clock. He is very regular with regard to his breakfast hour.....

"About noon, the Maharaja retires to his bed-room in the Samman Burj, and takes a few hours' repose, after which he dresses and takes his opium. For a short time after this, he amuses himself with his flower garden, when some of his domestic pets are brought before him, and these he feeds with his own hands. The Granth, or the Sacred Book, is now

* Mc Cregor, **The History of the Sikhs**, Vol. I, 1970, pages 215-17, published by the Languages Department, Panjab.

read to him by the Gurus, or priests, who are magnificently attired for the occasion, and seated on the richest carpets and silks.

"After this he again holds his darbar and finishes the business of the day by a ride on horse-back. Should the affairs of the State require his attention, Ranjeet Singh is ready at all times during the day and night. And it is not unusual for him to order his Secretary and Prime Minister to carry the designs on which he has been meditating during the night, into execution before daybreak."*

"Ranjeet Singh is fond of field sports, and makes short excursions every year through the country, lying between the Satlej and the Ravi and across the latter river in search of game.....

"Tigers are met with in the dense jungles which skirt the banks of the Satlej and the Ravi. When a tiger has been discovered, a body of soldiers is ordered to attack the animal on foot, with sword and shield, no matchlock being allowed. In this manner the tiger is despatched, though it seldom fails to inflict serious wounds on the assailants, and sometimes even fatal accidents occur. During these encounters, instances of personal courage are not uncommon. Several of Ranjeet Singh's followers owe their rise to the valour displayed in killing a tiger singlehanded.....

"The hunting of the wild hog is a favourite amusement with the Sikhs. They do not use the spear as we do, but kill the animal either with the sword or the matchlock. The flesh of the wild hog is in great esteem among them."**

Sir Lepel Griffin has quoted the description of the person and the general appearance of the Maharaja as given by one, Baron Hugel, and writes of it :

"This striking picture, (given by Hugel) is unprepossessing enough; but previous to his paralytic seizure which occurred in 1834, Ranjeet Singh, although short of stature and disfigured by that cruel disease which was wont to decimate the Panjab, and which still, in spite of vaccination, claims numer-

* Mc Gregor, pages. 220-21.

** Ibid, pages. 222-23.

ous victims, was the beau ideal of a soldier, strong, spare, active, courageous courteous and enduring. An excellent horseman, he would remain the whole day in the saddle without showing any sign of fatigue. His love for horses amounted to a passion, and he maintained an enormous stud for his personal use, collected from every part of India, Arabia and Persia.

"He was also a keen sportsman and an accomplished swords-man. At Rupar, in 1831, he competed with success with his own troopers and those of Skinner's Horse in tentpegging and feats of swordsmanship.

"His dress was scrupulously simple. In winter and spring he wore generally a warm dress of saffron-coloured Kashmir cloth; in the hot weather white muslim, without jewel or ornament, except on occasions of special display or state.

"This simplicity in the matter of personal adornment may often be observed in native princes or statesmen of intellectual eminence. The late Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar of Indore, Raja Sir Dinkar Rao and Sri Salaar Jang, the great minister of the Nizam, habitually dressed as plainly as the humblest of their employees. But Ranjeet Singh did not require jewels to make him conspicuous.

"It was strange, indeed, to observe how complete was his ascendancy, even when he had become feeble, blind and paralysed, over his brilliant court of fierce and turbulent chiefs. Faqir Aziz-ud-Deen, who had been sent on a mission to Lord William Bentinck, at Simla, in 1831, was asked by an English officer of which eye the Maharaja was blind. His answer well illustrated the attitude of his court towards him. 'The splendour of his face is such,' said the Faqir, 'that I have never been able to look close enough to discover.'*

"He was a born ruler, with the natural genius of command. Men obeyed him by instinct and because they had no power to disobey. The control which he exercised, even in the closing years of his life, over the whole Sikh people, nobles, priests and commons, was the measure of his greatness."†

* Sir Lepel Griffin, **Ranjeet Singh**, S. Chand and Co., 1957. pages. 89-91.

† Ibid, pages. 91-92.

"With all his repacity Ranjeet Singh was not cruel or bloodthirsty. After a victory or the capture of the fortress, he treated the vanquished with leniency and kindness, however stout their resistance might have been, and there were, at his court, many chiefs despoiled of their estates, but to whom he had given suitable employ, and who accepted their position with the resignation born of Eastern fatalism, which takes the sharpest sting out of defeat."♦

Such was the picture of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, in words who rose from the status of a petty Sardar to be the great sovereign who organised the scattered power of small Sikh sardars into a powerful nation and set up the Sikh Raj in a country of one Lakh and a half square miles. I am of the view that if Ranjeet Singh had not been born among us, the Panjab would have neither attracted any notice in the world nor would the Sikhs have been counted anywhere in the comity of the nations.

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh left behind him, after his death, a kingdom Rupees 2,84,93,032, with a yearly revenue of Rs. 2,84,93,032/- and an army 72,200 strong. This revenue had risen to about three crores and twenty-five lakhs of rupees and the strength of the army to one lakh and twenty-three men, in 1844. The Sikh army had the reputation of being known as the strongest fighting force in the world at that time. The Sikh Government possessed three hundred and eighty-four big guns and four hundred smaller ones that were carried on camle-backs.

APPENDIX 2

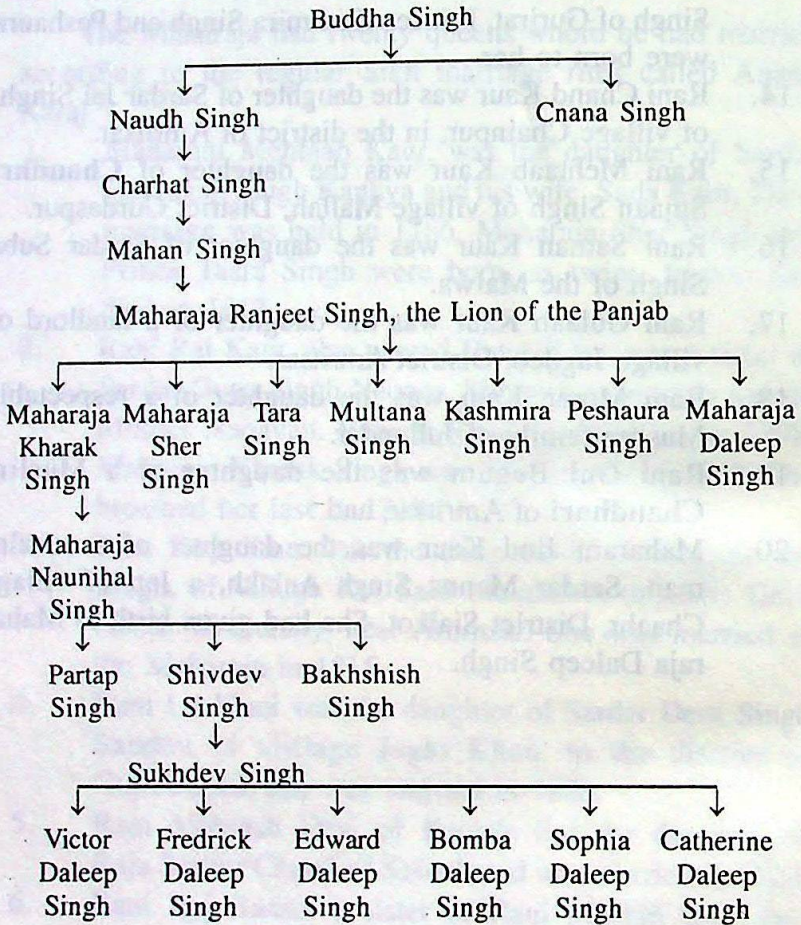
The Family of the Maharaja

The Maharaja had twenty queens whom he had married according to the regular Sikh marriage rites called Anand Karaj.*

1. Maharani Mehtaab Kaur, was the daughter of Sardar Gurbaksh Singh Kanhya and his wife, Sada Kaur. Their marriage was held in 1786. Maharaja Sher Singh and Prince Taara Singh were born, as twins, to her. She died in 1813.
2. Rani Raj Kaur, also named Datar Kaur, was a sister of Sardar Gyan Singh Naqaee. She was commonly named Mother Naqayan. Ranjeet Singh married her in 1798. Maharaja Kharak Singh was born to her in 1802. She breathed her last in 1818.
3. Rani Rup Kaur was the daughter of Numberdar Jai Singh, of Village Kot Said Mahmood, opposite Guru Nanak University, near Amritsar. She was married to the Maharaja in 1815.
4. Rani Lachhmi was the daughter of Sardar Desa Singh Sandhu of viillage Jogki Khan, in the district of Gujranwala. She was married in 1820.
5. Rani Mehtaab Devi of Katoch was the daughter of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch and was married in 1829.
6. Rani Raj Banso, a sister of Rani Mehtab Devi and daughter of Raja Sansar Chand was married in 1829.
7. Rani Raj Devi was the daughter of Mian Padam Singh.
8. Rani Har Devi was the daughter of Ram Salrai, a Rajput **Chaudhri** of Village **Atallgarh**, in District Gurdaspur.
9. Rani Devno was the daughter of a **Chaudhri** of Village Deva Batala in Jammu.
10. Rani Raam Devi was the daughter of Sardar Gurmukh Singh of Gujjaranwala.

11. Rani Devi was the daughter of Naquada, the Minister of the State of Jasswan.
12. Rani Rattan Kaur was the widow of Sardar Sahil Singh of Gujraat. Prince Multana Singh was her son.
13. Rani Daya Kaur was, too, a widow of Sardar Sahib Singh of Gurjrat. Princes Kashmira Singh and Peshaura were born to her.
14. Rani Chand Kaur was the daughter of Sardar Jai Singh, of village Chainpur, in the district of Amritsar.
15. Rani Mehtaab Kaur was the daughter of **Chaudhri** Sujaan Singh of village Mallah, District Gurdaspur.
16. Rani Saman Kaur was the daughter of Sardar Suba Singh of the Malwa.
17. Rani Gulaab Kaur was the daughter of a landlord of village Jagdeo, District Amritsar.
18. Rani Moran Kaur was the daughter of a respectable Muslim family of Jullunder.
19. Rani Gul Begum was the daughter of a Muslim **Chaudhari** of Amritsar, and.
20. Maharani Jind Kaur was the daughter of a cavalry man, Sardar Manna Singh Aulakh, a Jatt of village Chaahr, District Sialkot. She had given birth to Maharaja Daleep Singh.

Family Tree



(Daughters)

APPENDIX 3

THE OFFICERS OF THE MAHARAJA : INDIAN

1. Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwaalia was the founder of the Kapurthala State and an adopted brother of the Maharaja.
2. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa was the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army. His largess was of the value of three lakhs and sixty-seven thousands of rupees a year.
3. Akali Phoola Singh Nihang was a perfect saint soldier and the Commandar of the Akali army.
4. Raja Dhyan Singh Dogra was the Prime Minister.
5. Raja Gulab Singh was the elder brother of Raja Dhyan Singh, and
6. Raja Suchet Singh was the younger brother of Raja Dhyan Singh. These brothers were recruited to the Maharaja's forces, each at three rupee a month to begin with. The trio of these Dogra brothers was the chief agent of the destruction of the Sikh Raj.
- 7-11. Sardar Attar Singh, Budh Singh, Wasawa Singh, Lehna Singh and Ajeet Singh Sandhawalias were the near relatives of the Maharaja. The first four were brothers and the sons of Sardar Amir Singh and, Sardar Ajit Singh was the son of Sardar Wasawa Singh. Sardar Buddha Singh was their common ancestor with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh in the dynastic line.

Buddha Singh

Naudh Singh

Chanda Singh

Charhat Singh

Didar Singh

Mahan Singh

Amir Singh Sandhawalia

Ranjeet Singh

Attar
Singh

Budh
Singh

Wassawa
Singh

Lehna
Singh

Keher Singh

Shamsher Singh

Ajit Singh

Ranjor
Singh

Partap
Singh

Thakar
Singh

12. Diwan Mohkam Chand was a prominent Comander among the early generals of the Maharaj. He died in 1814.
13. Diwan Moti Ram was the son of Diwan Mohkam Chand. He worked as the Governor of Kashmir for several years.
14. Diwan Ram Dyal, the son of Diwan Moti Ram and grandson of Mohkam Chand, was a senior general of the Sikh army. His brother, Kirpa Ram, too, held a high post in the administraton.
- 15-17. Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, a Muslim believer in mysticism,* was the Foreign Minister of the Maharaja. His brother, Imam-ud-Din and Nur-ud-Din, were, also high officers in the Government.

* Griffin, page. 84.

18. Jamadar Khushal Singh was a Brahmin of the District of Meerut. He was recruited to the army on five rupees a month and had risen to the high office of the Chamberlain of the Maharaja. His son, Ram Singh, and his nephew, Tej Singh, too, were prominent persons after him.
19. Misar Diwan Chand was an eminent general. He had won laurels during the campaigns of Kashmir and Multan.
20. Sardar Desa Singh Majeethia was a well-known **Sardar**, who had been the Governor of the hill States of Kangra of several years.
21. Lehna Singh Majeethia was the son of Sardar Desa Singh. He succeeded his father as the Governor of the Kangra territory. He was a proficient scholar in astrology and science.
- 22-23. Sardar Attar Singh and Gujjar Singh, the two brothers of Sardar Lehna Singh Majeethia, were prominent sardars.
24. Sardar Fateh Singh Kaliawala was one of the early **Sardars** of the Maharaja. He was killed in the battle of Naraingarh.
25. Sardar Fateh Singh Dhari was a well known army general.
26. Sardar Attar Singh Dhari was the son of Sardar Fateh Singh, who held a post in the army after the death of his father.
27. Sardar Mit Singh of Bhrana was killed in 1814 during the Kashmir campaign.
28. Sardar Jawala Singh of Bharana was the son of Sardar Mit Singh, who succeeded to the feudal estate of his father.
29. Sardar Dall Singh Nahehyrna was the adopted son of Sardar Fateh Singh of Kalianwala.

30. Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia came of the Raamgarhia **Misal** and was a loyal officer of the Maharaja.
31. Diwan Sawan Mall was the Governor of the Province of Multan.
32. Diwan Bhawani Das was the Revenue Minister.
33. Diwan Devi Das was the brother of Diwan Bhawani Das.
34. Diwan Ganga Ram was a **Pandit** of Kashmir. He had organized the departments of the Excise and of the Army.
35. Diwan Ayudhia Prasad was the son of Diwan Ganga Ram.
36. Diwan Dina Nath was a **Pandit** of Kashmir. He had worked hard and earned the title of the **Raja**. He was made the Revenue Minister.
37. Misar Beli Ram was the Finance Minister. He had four brothers; Rup Lal, Megh Raj, Ram Kishan and Sukh Raj who were all servants of the Government.
38. Bakhshi Bhagat Ram was an officer in the office of the regular army.
39. Munshi Karam Chand and his three sons: Diwans Tara Chand, Mangal Sain and Rattan Chand, held important posts.
40. Ram Dyal was the personal correspondence officer of the Maharaja.
41. Ilahi Bakhsh was the General of the Cavalry and the Artillery.
42. Mian Gauns Khan was an officer of the gun-batteries.
43. Sardar Sultan Mahmood was the son of Mian Ghauns Khan. He was appointed to an officer's post in the gun batteries department after the death of his father.
44. Sardar Hukam Singh of Atari was among the old Sardars of the Maharaja.

45. Sardar Nihal Singh of Atari had sacrificed his own life to save the life of the Maharaja from a critical illness.
46. Sardar Sham Singh Atari was the son of Sardar Nihal Singh. He was martyred while fighting against the British in the battle of Sabhraon on the banks of the Satlej.
47. Sardar Jai Singh Atari was a fearless **Sardar**.
48. Sardar Chattar Singh Atari fought against the British during the second Sikh War. It was his son, Raja Sher Singh, who won great fame in that war.
49. Sardar Hukma Singh Chimny was a high officer of the Octroi Department.
50. Sardar Karam Singh Chahal had fallen a martyr in the Yusafzai territory. His son, Gurmukh Singh, succeeded to his father's largess and the army rank.
51. Sardar Jodh Singh and his son, Amir Singh, were famous **Sardars** and feudal lords.
52. Sardar Dhanna Singh Malwai.
53. Sardar Jawand Singh of Mokhal.
54. Sheikh Imam-ud-Din
55. Sardar Amar Singh Majeethia.
56. Sardar Mehtab Singh, General.
57. Sardar Mewa Singh, General.
58. Sardar Rattan Chand Dahriwal.
59. Sardar Rattan Singh of Gharjakh.
60. Sardar Gulab Singh of village Qutba.
61. Bhai Ram Singh.

There were some other army **Sardars** who deserved a special mention, besides those noted above.

There were several foreign officers. estimated at forty two or so in number, among whom the following persons were quite prominent :-

1. Ventura, an Italian, the General of the Infantry.
2. Allard, a Frenchman, the General of the Cavalry.
3. Avitablie, an Italian.
4. Court a Frenchman, an officer of the gun batteries.
5. Doctor Mertin Honighbrugher, an Austrian or a German.
6. Horllin an American.
7. Elexander Gardner or Gardona, an American and the officer of the gun batteries.

Some more officer were enlisted after the death of the Maharaja. With the exception of England, several officers from the European countries had been enlisted in the Sikh army.

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Kahiloor	Noor-ud-Deen
Kaan	Noorpur
Kapoor Singh Nawab	Octorlony, Sir Lord
Kashmere	Osbourne
Kesgarh	Paindey Khan
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